Victory for the Trenton Six!

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Have you heard the good news?

The neighbors crowd around Mrs. Emma English (center), mother of Collis English, one of the Trenton Six, after the court decision. Behind Mrs. English is Wililam L. Patterson, director of the Civil Rights Congress.

Jersey Supreme Court orders a new trial

By William A. Reuben

INSIDE the spacious fourth-floor courtroom in New Jersey's State House Annex at Trenton, last Thursday morning, there was no indication that millions throughout the world were awaiting the New Jersey Supreme Court's verdict on the Trenton Six.

Chatting and laughing, a dozen reporters sat together along the huge windows affording a postcard view of the Delaware River. In the rear of the court sat five relatives of some of the convicted men: Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English and sister-in-law of McKinley Forrest, and the mother, father, grandfather and uncle of James Thorpe. All of them sat stiff and straight.

Mrs. Emma English, whose son and son-in-law had been in the death house since last September, hadn't come to the court. She was afraid that she might not be able to control herself, she said later. No friends of the other three accused men—Ralph Cooper, Horace Wilson and John McKenzie—were present.

As the hands of the courtroom clock showed 10 o'clock, you sat forward tensely; there was complete silence and tenseness, except for the reporters, who seemed unconcerned. Last time you were in this court, when the appeal for the Trenton Six was argued, the justices made their entrance promptly at 10. But on Thursday they seemingly were in no hurry.

Laughter

Waiting became unbearable as minutes ticked by, with no sign of the justices.

At 10:15 loud peals of laughter were heard coming from the clerk-of-the-court's office. The laughter cut into you like a knife and jolted you into recalling one more parallel between Trenton and Scottsboro. You remembered the news accounts from Scottsboro, years earlier—how from the jury room of that Alabama town there were bursts of laughter after the jurors had retired.

At 10:30 Chief Justice Arthur Vanderbilt opened the oyster-white double door behind the 50-foot-long mahogany bench, and took his place in the center. Six men, wearing black robes and carrying tiny black loose-leaf notebooks, followed him. The youngest of the seven justices was 59 years old.

Justice Vanderbilt waited for the other justices to get to their places, looked around the courtroom morosely, rapped once with a small gavel, then sat down. After a moment, he leaned forward and said:

"Is counsel present for argument in docket number 202?"

First things first

Something seemed wrong; you tried to remember what the docket number of the Trenton Six case was. And then the court proceeded leisurely—to consider the case of a title to a parcel of real estate.

Property rights first, human rights later. None of the judges seemed aware of the irony of the situation. You wondered about the relatives—how they felt sitting there, waiting for those seven men to decide about the title to a piece of land before announcing whether their sons and brothers should die in the chair.

Finally, the lawyers in the property litigation finished. Judge Vanderbilt said that the matter would be taken under advisement, that there would now be a recess.

GUARDIAN's William Reuben (l.), tireless worker for justice for the Trenton Six, shares Mrs. English's joy as Mr. Patterson beams.

Once more you waited. You tried to avoid talking to the relatives. How could you explain to them that legal processes were impersonal, dehumanized, concerned only with the letter of the law, not with the hopes and fears of anxious families?

Another 15 minutes passed, each one like a year. Finally, at 11:00, the justices returned. You sat forward again, waiting. Justice Vanderbilt read two decisions: both reversals of lower court findings.

A sister's tears

Then he said: "Docket number 180—the State versus Ralph Cooper. Opinion by Justice Heher."

The judge on Justice Vanderbilt's left sat forward. He announced briefly his opinion that in the matter of the State vs. Ralph Cooper the lower court decision should be reversed and a new trial ordered. Then the Chief Justice went down the line, calling out the name of each venerable man sitting with him behind the mahogany bench. Each said: "I concur in the opinion." The reporters dashed for telephones.

You rushed over to shake the hands of Bessie Mitchell and the Thorpes.

"Is it over?" Bessie Mitchell said. James Thorpe, Sr., said: "What happened?" The language of the court was too technical for them; they hadn't realized that their kinfolk were not to die—not yet, anyway.

Bessie Mitchell, when she finally realized what the court's verdict meant, buried her head in her hands and began to sob softly. Thorpe sat up straight, unmoving, as if to display any emotion might offer grounds for the court to reconsider—and perhaps rescind—its verdict.

The only out-of-town reporter other than myself was Earl Brown of **Life**. He quickly hustled Mrs. Mitchell and Thorpe over to where Robert Queen and James Waldron,

(Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Marshall Plan flop

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THE MAILBAG

Dear Mr. President:

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

Following is an excerpt from a letter which I have sent to the President of the United States:

"After so many years of intervention in Greece, in the name of democracy, surely the time has come for action on our part which will compel the Greek Government to respect democratic procedure and to show a greater regard for human life, which God gave and which no human being has a right unlawfully to take. Your personal intervention in this matter is of immediate and utmost concern to all freedom-loving people here and abroad.

"Hoping my letter will evoke a warm response in your heart, I remain respectfully yours,

Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan"

Others who have sent us duplicates of letters which they have sent to Mr. Truman, at the GUARDIAN's urging, are Dorothy Butler Howells and Eva Sikelianos of New York and Harry A. Lesser of Brooklyn. Ed.

•

GUARDIAN abroad

CHICAGO, ILL.

Will you let me know what provisions you have made for foreign subscriptions? I have a number of friends in France and England to whom I would like to send gifts and it occurred to me that the GUARDIAN might reassure them that we in the U.S. are not hopelessly lost.

H.D.K.

GUARDIAN goes every week to many foreign countries and, as in the U.S., makes new friends wherever it goes. Many people abroad, hampered by import restrictions and foreign exchange regulations, are unable to subscribe. But there's nothing to prevent Americans from taking subs for them. Some of our readers have been sending us money earmarked for foreign readers. Whenever we get a letter from someone abroad saying he is prevented from subscribing, for one reason or another, we use this money for a gift sub.

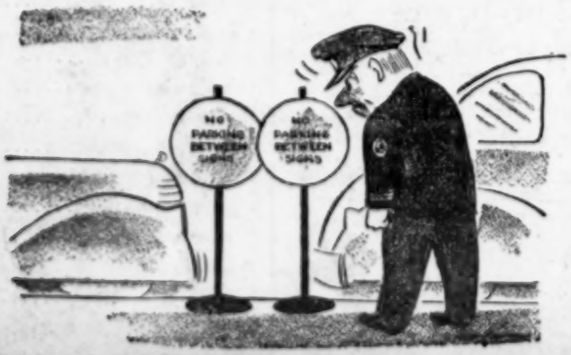
We invite all readers to subscribe for foreign friends, or to send us names of likely readers abroad if you can't afford gift subs yourself. Why not do it today? Foreign subscription rates are found in the masthead at the top left of this page. Ed.

Correction

In last week's GUARDIAN the PP National Committee was reported as deciding that: "Building of solid political organizations in all or even a majority of congressional districts where victory is possible was 'utterly impractical' with the resources and forces now available."

A serious mistake, for which our apologies, was made in condensing the long PP release. The original passage read:

"The building of solid political organizations in those congressional districts where victories are possible is equally essential. Given the resources and forces now available to the party, it would be utterly impractical to attempt to establish political organizations capable of conducting successful campaigns in all or anything approaching a majority of the congressional districts."



Talk up, folks

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

The name of GUARDIAN is the easiest "buck" extractor (painless) I've ever seen.

I merely mentioned the name to four of my friends and the money flew at me. If our readers would just mention our great paper to our friends the results would be a happy experience to all.

Alfred Schleifer

•

Ballad for Americans

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I can't resist your latest bid for circulation and if my buck for 40 weeks will help, please send the GUARDIAN on here and bill me. Deepest good wishes.

Earl Robinson

•

In freedom's name

ROBERSONVILLE, N.C.

Said Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, state superintendent of public instruction, at East Carolina Teachers College, Greenville, N.C., June 17:

"The schools have been the bulwarks of American freedom and democracy and must remain so. Not only should the communistic teacher be excluded from the schools, but there should be a stern discipline for students who subscribe to communistic doctrines."

In other words, in the name of freedom, we are not to be free to teach or to believe in a certain way. If, as students in the public schools, we happen to think along certain lines, we are to be subject to "stern discipline."

Dr. Erwin's doctrine is certainly much closer to nazism than to freedom and democracy. This may be the contemporary American way, but it has little to do with the traditional American way.

If the logic of communism is so superior to the logic of capitalism that the former will prevail if given free expression in the classrooms of the nation, then it is hardly to be expected that suppression of communism will save capitalism.

The whole import of suppression is that capitalism cannot hold its own against communism in free debate.

Vernon Ward

•

We need you too

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Don't go broke with that price cut of yours! Or if you do at least give us a chance to bail you out. We need you.

Stanley L. Salowey

•

Bread and babies

LOUISVILLE, KY.

I was very much interested in Charlotte Parks' recent letter. I'd like to know more about making whole wheat bread at home. Maybe she can dig up some good recipes, and tell us exactly where to buy ingredients, and where to buy the electric mills she wrote about.

I hope that you'll have some more articles on bringing up children and so on, also where to send for government pamphlets on this and other subjects.

Gertrude Gartner

•

Down to the roots

RICHMOND, IND.

The full page article on fascism (June 13) was very timely and very good.

Of course, I myself would have liked it to have been more explicit—because I believe that eventually the American people will have to have a more clear understanding of the economic system of monopoly capitalism and how such a system inevitably brings fascism, depression and war.

Karol Fahnestock

•

Voltaire up to date

BRONX, N. Y.

I do not agree with all that you say, but there is so much you print that should be read, I feel obliged to enclose the names of my closest friends as new subscribers to your fearless journal.

Sidney Bernstein

•

A nod for Rod

CHICAGO, ILL.

I would like to express my personal thanks for the column by Rod Holmgren. He is giving us a slant on Illinois and vicinity that we can get nowhere else.

Wilmer Wolfson

•

Bark with a bite

EAST ORANGE, N. J.

Below are extracts from a letter from one of those old-time westerners "with the bark on:"

"The way to get peace is to prepare for war."

"The way not to kill people is to prepare to kill them."

"Set traps to kill little children, then when a little girl gets in pray to the Almighty to come and get her out."

Marshall D. Smith

•

New friends

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN is a fine little newspaper. We are grateful to the friends who introduced us to it by subscription, and now we are happy to carry on.

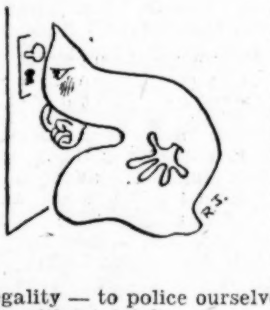
Morris Sklar

Jennings Perry

The family of intolerance

TODAY, I want to make an odious comparison. What prompts me is a well-meaning cartoon purporting to show what happens when the Ku Klux Klan is compelled by law to unmask: the Klansman is discovered not to have any head at all.

Now I agree readily with Gov. Jim Folsom of Alabama that one way to get rid of what Gov. Fuller Warren of Florida calls the "sheeted jerks" is to make them show their faces: these people have an occupation which cannot stand the sun. But these people are not dunces.



They do have heads under the hoods, and it is what is in the heads that needs exposing. What is in the heads is verminous—but we would find it not outlandish, not unrecognisable. The stuff is of the same evil "enrichment" as the thinking that characterizes another of our current efforts—on a far grander scale, and with the trappings of legality — to police ourselves by defamation and punishment without trial.

THE Klan, it may be remembered, professes a higher order of patriotism, too. It waves the flag even as it burns the cross. The holier-than-thouism of the Kluxers ordinarily is directed against individuals who do not conform to the Kluxers' concept of proper morals. But this fact does not distinguish their code in kind from the holier-than-thouism of committees of our legislatures, both national and state. Such committees advance upon individuals who defy, or in the past may have defied, the special set of tabus with which the committees have hedged their special concept of "loyalty."

The Klan comes in the night and lights its crossed sticks before a dwelling: the purpose is to advertise the people of that dwelling to their neighbors as objects of suspicion. The accusation is not specified, the accusers are unknown, the accused have no recourse. The House Un-American Activities Committee publishes a list of organizations as "subversive." All members of these groups are blanketed under a vague suspicion. No charge is spelled out against them. They have no recourse. . . .

It is just that a cross has been burned in their yard. . . .

IT WILL help to take the hoods off the Kluxers, it will help indeed; for the hoods give anonymity, and anonymity gives immunity. They who need fear no retribution need exercise no compunction. The lives and reputations of others are of little consequence to them. Their self-righteousness feeds upon their own personal security, their callousness grows with the consciousness of their own irresponsibility.

The members of the House Un-American Activities Committee can afford to forego anonymity: they have immunity by law, by their position. It is not as complete an immunity as the bedsheets have afforded the Kluxers, since at intervals the voters can get at them; but the truth is they have no more to fear from the individuals whose names they kick around than the nightriders have from the cottagers to whom they apply the fiery smear or the leathern strap.

The individual citizen has found himself exactly as helpless under the attentions of one group as of the other.

No one — not even a clever cartoonist — has yet suggested that removal of the immunity of the reckless denouncers of the House Un-American Activities Committee would do at least as much to protect the rights and privileges of the people as the uncapping of the Ku Klux Klan. Yet the difference between intimidation by irresponsible thought-censors outside the law and by irresponsible thought-censors who are congressmen is not of a degree to be detected by the hapless victims of either.

You and the ERP

The Marshall plan flop speeds world depression

By Tabitha Petran

THE Marshall Plan is an international flop. The repercussions are already affecting you, and you will feel them even more as time goes on.

Its announced purposes, proclaimed in millions of printed words, film strips, radio speeches, were these: (1) to promote economic recovery and higher living standards in Europe; (2) to increase American exports to insure full employment, full production and high wages in the U.S.

It has done neither.

SLIT THROATS: The European Marshall Plan Council is meeting in Paris in an atmosphere of crisis. The superficial crisis is their lack of dollars. The real crisis is the world depression that is forcing cutthroat competition by every nation to save its own skin.

The U.S. is insisting on keeping European and other markets open to American competition. This means American domination. Britain, fighting to stave off economic disaster, badly in need of trade and dollars, wants closed markets—markets open only to British goods.

The current crisis reveals that the Marshall Plan and the cold war, far from stopping depression, have actually brought it on.

The Marshall Plan (FRP) has put a strait-jacket on the world's trade. Its restrictive policies have worsened the economic plight of the western world and thrown European and American workers out of jobs. It has placed a roadblock in the way of action to prevent a depression.

MARSHALLIZED EUROPE: Let's take a look first at what it has done in Europe:

- European recovery, according to a UN Report, was achieved by its own efforts and the aid of UNRRA in the first 18 months of peace. Then the U.S. killed UNRRA, imposed the Marshall Plan on Western Europe and an economic blockade on Eastern Europe (both went into effect in April, 1948).

- Unemployment in the 12 ERP nations for which UN statistics are available jumped from slightly over 1,000,000 in 1947, before ERP, to 4,000,000 early in 1949. Every ERP nation except Portugal showed a substantial increase in unemployment after ERP went into effect. Hardest hit were Italy, Western Germany and Belgium.

- Industrial production in Western Germany zoomed nearly 68% in one year of ERP, but in the ERP area as a whole production rose only about 10%.

Say 'Thank you'

The office of the labor advisers to ERP has just printed a stirring report to labor on ERP. The booklet singles out for special praise the use of red, white and blue labels on Marshall Plan goods to let the weeping world know they came from the good old U.S.A.

The report points with pride to the role "labor has been given to play in [ERP] operation." And it contains unblushing pictures of labor "statesmen" who now hold ERP jobs.

- ERP "recovery" was achieved at the expense of present living standards and future growth. The cost of living rose in all ERP nations except Norway. Real wages fell. In France in 1947 they averaged 70% of pre-war. By October, 1948, they were down to 53%.

- Trade of ERP nations was so distorted by the Marshall Plan that their dependence on the U.S. increased and their foreign markets are shrinking.

BLOCKADE BENEFITS: This growing crisis contrasts sharply with the stable economic recovery of Eastern Europe which turned down Marshall "aid" and suffered a virtual U.S. blockade.

In Poland, most devastated country in Europe, production by December, 1948, was 50% above pre-war; the cost of living was stabilized; real wages were 10% above pre-war.

In Czechoslovakia, production was 8% and real wages 8% above pre-war; the cost of living dropped between 1947 and 1948.

MARSHALLIZED U.S.: Now take a look at what the Marshall Plan has done at home:

- ERP failed to halt the decline in American exports which began in June, 1947, the month the plan was announced. Exports dropped 18% between 1947 and 1948. Exports to ERP nations fell 21% after ERP went into effect.

- By October, 1948, falling foreign trade and shrinking domestic purchasing power caused a decline in U.S. production and employment. From September, 1948, to May, 1949, 1,664,000 U.S. production workers lost their jobs. Production dropped 11% since Nov., 1948.

- ERP substituted for normal trade relations (1) a mechanism for dumping U.S. surpluses in ERP countries; and (2) a blockade of non-ERP Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

COKE POWER: This is how the dumping mechanism works: Europe needs machinery and machine tools to modernize its industry, railroad equipment and freight cars to transport its commerce.

In 1947 ERP countries spent 59 times as much in the U.S. for freight cars as for table beverage materials (Coca Cola, soda water, etc.) In 1948, after ERP, they spent almost twice as much on beverages as on freight cars. Export of freight cars to ERP nations dropped 98%; beverage materials went up 60%. Shipments of machinery and vehicles to ERP nations fell 28% after ERP.

But exports of U.S. surpluses rose sharply. Shipments to ERP nations of raw cotton jumped up almost 90%. More than a third of U.S. exports to ERP nations in 1948 was foodstuffs (largely grain and grain products) which Western Europe used to buy in the East.

THE VICTIMS: The dumping mechanism victimizes Europeans. They waste dollars on products they don't need or can get cheaper elsewhere. It also victimizes American workers. One result: When U.S. heavy industry began exhausting its domestic markets, it had no European customers. Eastern Europe was cut off and the ERP nations lacked dollars.

Between September, 1948, and May, 1949, 810,000 workers in U.S. heavy industry lost their jobs—thanks to the Marshal Plan-cold war strait-jacket. This is an example:

In 1947, the U.S. exported 32,659 freight cars, in 1948 only 3,537, about one week's production. Today freight car workers in Altoona, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Bethlehem are idle. The industry is crying for a government subsidy.

Want more?

This article is the first of several which the GUARDIAN will publish showing the direct link between America's foreign policy and the onrushing economic crisis at home. We feel this story is so important we'd like to get it into as many hands as possible. If you or your organization would like free bundle copies of the issues of the GUARDIAN carrying these stories, write to Circulation Dept., National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N.Y., 7.

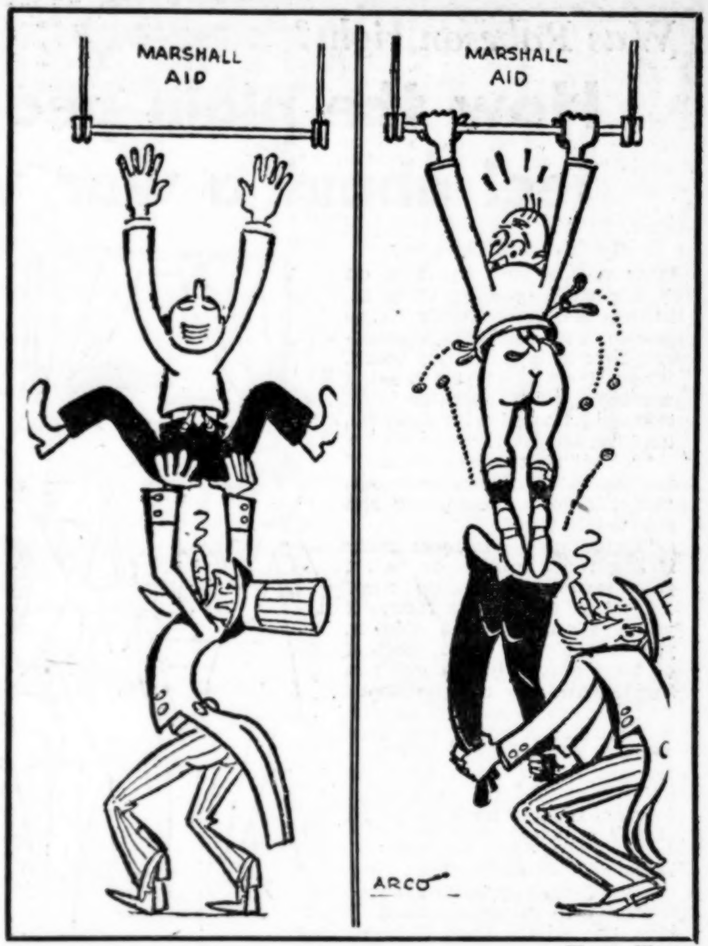
TWO-WAY DUMP: ERP nations try to get dollars by dumping their products here. This throws American workers out of jobs.

Six cotton mills recently closed down in Georgia, four in North Carolina. Textile unemployment is widespread in New England. Why? One reason is that ERP trade distortions force Britain to get dollars by trying to sell Lancashire cotton and other textiles in America. There will be more unemployment when the U.S. building-up of Japanese and German textile mills drives American textiles out of world markets.

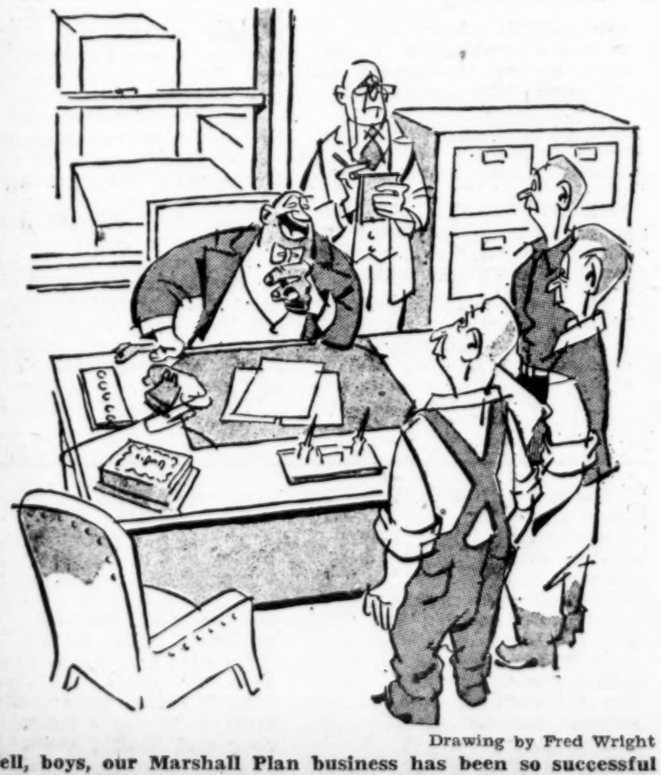
Sales of British cotton goods in the U.S. jumped 58% in 1948, textiles in general, 41%. At the same time, U.S. domestic consumption was declining and U.S. textile exports dropped 27%, cotton cloth exports 35%. The CIO Textile Workers estimated unemployment in the industry at 225,000. This may explain why the leaders of this union have suddenly lost their enthusiasm for the Marshall Plan.

HOW TO DO IT: Normal trade relations would keep U.S. textile workers on the job. The U.S. could sell Britain machinery to modernize its textile industry. Britain thus could raise its living standards so that its people could buy British textiles which they now can't afford. The U.S. could direct its textile exports to Eastern Europe which badly needs them. Full employment in the textile industry would increase U.S. purchasing power and hence domestic consumption of textiles.

Normal trade relations would keep U.S. workers in heavy industry employed. Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R. and China provide a vast market. Western Europe could get the modern machinery it needs and raise its living standards. Better living standards means increased consumption and bigger markets for all kinds of goods.

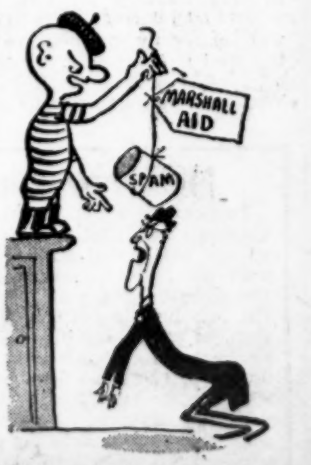


Wespe, Vienna



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Well, boys, our Marshall Plan business has been so successful that we're laying off 20% of the force."



Daily Worker, London

"Now, Staffy boy, beg properly."

Was Robeson right?

How the plain people of Harlem feel about a war with Russia

By Yvonne Gregory

The beauty shop operator on Eighth Avenue at 135th St. in Harlem, New York's Negro ghetto, was curling a customer's hair in a small hot booth. When I explained what I wanted, both operator and customer hooted with scornful, derisive laughter.

"If that isn't **some** question!" the operator almost spat out. "Have I got an opinion!" she snorted harshly.

"Listen, girl—don't you worry if I got an opinion or not. I got a **terrible** opinion. But what I read in the papers today, if you got **any** kind of opinion, you better keep it to yourself or they gonna **try** to put you in jail. And **my** opinion about do I want to go war against the Russians or anybody else over **there** is **so** terrible, I just better act like I don't have no opinion at all. If **I** want to go to war, I don't have to go all that far!"

HARLEM QUEST: That was one of the reactions I got when, the other evening, I took the advice Paul Robeson offered at his welcome-home rally in Rockland Palace on June 19.

"I said in Europe," Robeson told those 5,000 people, "it was unthinkable that Negroes here or elsewhere could be drawn into war with the Soviet Union. They will not. And don't ask a few intellectuals who are jealous of their comfort."

As a Negro writer I need to know the truth about what and whom my people will fight. So I spent and evening walking and riding the buses in the poorest parts of Harlem, talking with casually approached Negro women who do the dullest, meanest, hardest work in New York Cty for the smallest pay.

"WOULDN'T TALK MUCH": Here is the gist of what I was told by Mrs. Stella Willeimer, an erect, gray-haired laundry worker, whom I singled out on the 8th Av. bus as she returned to Harlem, her face glazed with heat and fatigue:

"My sons wouldn't talk much when they came home from the war. But I still have their letters from overseas. They were disappointed and mad when they found we colored people still didn't have our freedom. It won't be easy to get **any** of our boys into uniform again for another war."

Mrs. Willeimer was the most outspoken woman I found. Everyone else was reluctant to talk; many were hostile. It was hard work getting their names even if they would speak their minds. Copies of the **Daily News** and the Hearst **Mirror** folded under many of the women's arms, explained the fear that seeped through the steamy air. Some first reactions were: "I don't want to be mixed up in any politics"; "I've got enough trouble already"; "I don't know nothing about these Communists."

"THEY'LL GO": A laundry worker encountered on 134th street told me:

"My grandfather and grandmother was fighters. My mother and my father, they was fighters. And what for? I'm not a fighter. It's no use. Look at the Communists. If you be with them you are only going to get trouble. I'd rather be a slave for the boss than a slave to the Communists. I don't go along with these unions either. If the man tells our boys to go to war they'll go whether they want to or not."

An unemployed press operator said:

"Of course I don't want my menfolks to go to war. They don't want to go either. But what can you do? Look how they treat us here. I use to be in all those movements and things in the last depression. I got enough tear gas then to keep me out of them now. Cops beating you and tear gas when you tried to stop evictions. I don't want any more trouble."

HOME FRONT: A story I read in the paper, about a young man who had recently been killed by a policeman off-duty, sent me across town to one of the worst slum districts in Harlem. There, on 118th [illegible] between Fifth and Lenox [illegible] I called on Mrs. Catherine Taylor, whose husband lay in Bellevue hospital, wounded in the groin from the same irresponsible gun.

Mrs. Richard Brown, the widow of the other man, was not at home. Mrs. Taylor was surrounded by tiny little girls, who seemed to range from about two to seven years. She nursed her infant son as she said slowly and haltingly:

"I don't know nothing about politics. But I can't see us going in a war. Right here they shot Mrs. Brown's husband dead. Right here they shot my husband. I'm not thinking about a war. What I'm thinking about is how to raise my children decent."

LEARN—AND LIVE: On the subway going back to 125th St., I saw Tina Marshall when she entered the car. She looked like some small exquisite rare bird. Since she earns her living as a model, Tina is far better off economically than any of the women I had already approached. She was reluctant to speak at first, saying she "really didn't know enough about it," but she finally said:

"I'm always trying to learn more about politics. I voted for Henry Wallace in the last election. I believe in what he says and does. Look at the people who are for him. They seem to me to be the finest people. Of course I want to live in a world of peace. I want to live, yes. But just look at the way we have to live here [illegible] Negroes. We have to try [illegible] **really** live right here."

This is by no means even the shadow of a pretense for [illegible]ing a Gallup or any other ki[illegible] of a "poll." It is just what I saw and heard in one afternoon and evening in Harlem when I took Paul Robeson's advice.

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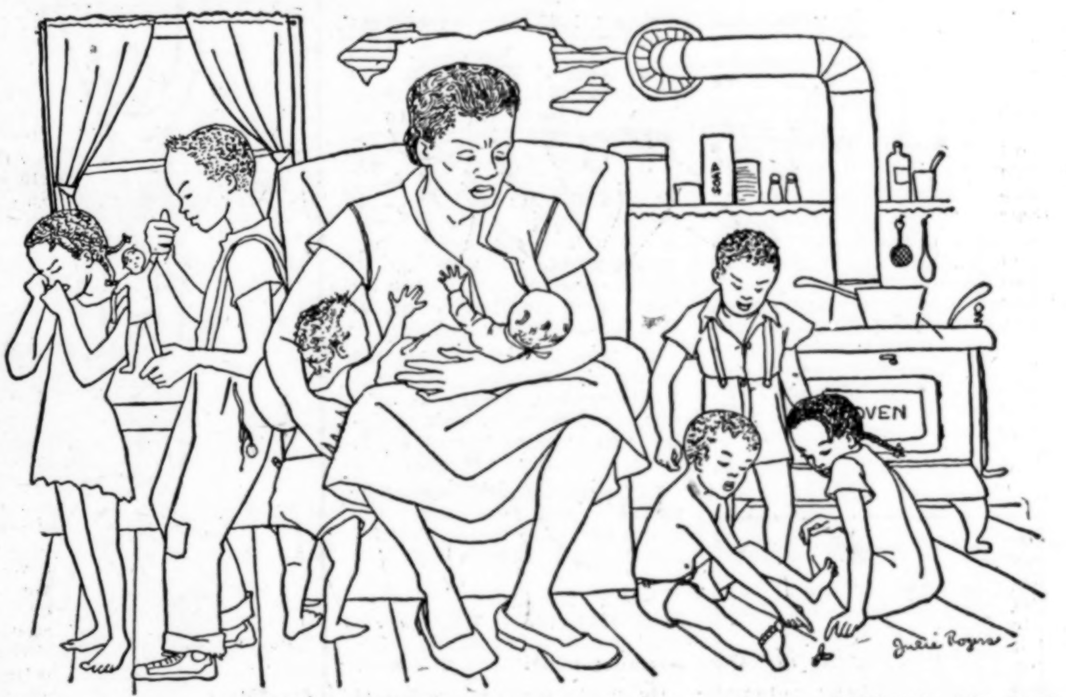
When you finish with this copy, give it to somebody else who may subscribe.



Drawing by Julie Rogers

Victory in Trenton

(Continued from Page 1)

attorneys appointed and paid for by the Mercer County Court to defend the Negroes, were standing. The **Life** photographer began taking pictures of the relatives and the attorneys.

At the death house, Warden George Page was smiling, eager to accommodate all. Last fall, when NATIONAL GUARDIAN was the only publication interested in the plight of the six occupants of the death house, Warden Page was considerably less than cooperative in answering GUARDIAN's questions.

The local attorneys were already inside the death house by the time William Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, got in to see the warden and ask him whether the men could be released immediately. The warden seemed surprised. He said nothing could be done until he received an order for their release from the Supreme Court—and that would be at least ten days.

But the warden relaxed one rule and allowed Mrs. Mitchell and Thorpe into the death house, even though each had already had the one visit allowed for the month. When she came out, Mrs. Mitchell reported that all six prisoners, like herself, were far too excited to talk; they could do litle but grin—and send their thanks to their friends on the outside who helped save their lives.

All Trenton was excited by the outcome. Mrs. English's small wooden-frame house was crowded with excited, happy friends and neighbors. Later, riding about the city, you couldn't spot an unsmiling Negro anywhere.

City officials ducked comment. Public Director of Safety Andrew J. Duch left for the day before three o'clock. Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe first told newsmen that he wouldn't comment on the verdict until he had read the opinion. By 2:30, after he had had time to read it, he had left his office to go to a picnic.

The city's leading daily, the Trenton **Times**, was sold out within ten minutes after its edition announcing the court's decision appeared on the streets. The newspaper commented: "Sentiment and sympathy in favor of the defendants were whipped up and campaigns to 'Save the Trenton Six' were undertaken. The actions had no effect on the ultimate decision."

Bessie Mitchell, like millions of others all over the U.S.A. and the world, hardly agreed. She told me:

"I thank God from the bottom of my heart that I found the Civil Rights Congress in time to save the life of my brother and the other five innocent men. And I don't know how I can ever repay [illegible] show the gratitude I feel [illegible] the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for bringing the case out into the open and forcing other newspapers to do something about it."

Next week

In next week's GUARDIAN attorney O. John Rogge, whose brief and argument won the retrial decision for the Trenton Six, will discuss the full meaning of the decision, of which the foregoing paragraphs are only a summary. Mr. Rogge will discuss whether, in the light of the various points of the decision, any basis remains for a new trial or whether the Trenton Six might be freed now.

The case history

THE CRIME: William Horner, 73, beaten to death in his Trenton second-hand store, Jan. 27, 1948. Witnesses saw two and three men leaving the store after the crime.

THE ACCUSED: Police armed with tommyguns rushed to Negro neighborhoods, rounded up "suspects" at random. On Feb. 11 police announced that Horner crime had been solved, 6 Negroes confessed.

THE EVIDENCE: Signed "confessions" of five of the six, repudiated in court. Strong indications that men had been beaten and drugged into signing.

THE ALIBI: More than 30 witnesses—employers, neighbors, co-workers—placed all the accused far from scene.

THE VERDICT: Death in the electric chair for all six, after longest, most expensive trial.

THE REVERSAL: The Supreme Court unanimously reversed the trial court action on the following grounds:

(1) The trial judge's charge to the jury was in error due to comments and suggestions as to the character of the crime, and could not be excused as "comment on the evidence."

(2) The judge erred in sentencing the men to death for murder in the first degree when the jury's verdict was simply "guilty" with no mention of degree.

(3) The judge refused to let the defense use fingerprint records which failed to show any prints of the accused men on a bottle allegedly used in beating the victim to death.

(4) Citing recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions regarding confessions obtained after "physical and mental ordeal," the N.J. Supreme Court observed that such confessions have "no evidential value" and directed the application of these findings to the case on retrial.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

Fourth of July

ALL over the world last week people were chuckling quietly in anticipation of July 4. On that day revolution was to be celebrated in, of all places, the United States of America.

Some people overseas touched off their fireworks early and shocked State Department officials. The foreigners seemed to be declaring their independence of the U.S.

Englishmen prepared to feast on Argentine beef though the U.S. had frowned on the menu, disapproving the Anglo-Argentine trade agreement which was signed last week.

The Marshall Plan nations were grumbling audibly at U.S. domination.

In Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Africa, men were saying in their own dialects: "We hold these truths to be self-evident. . . ."

Gay pursuit

At home the pursuit of happiness seemed more varied and more devious.

To the five-room Regal Suite of the steamship Italia flowers were delivered and marshalled in banks along the walls. On sailing day maids hurried in carrying hampers of champagne. Reporters had a glimpse of green damask drapes, soft rugs, silks, satins, and wood paneling. The cost is $2,600 one-way to Italy.

The suite was being made ready for Meyer Lansky, known as Meyer the Bug. In 1938 Lansky was named a "public enemy." Since then many of his associates have gone to the death house. But Lansky has continued to thrive. He owns the Green Acres Night Club and the Colonial Inn, two of the swankiest gambling houses near Hollywood, Fla.

It was not clear to everybody that even now the enterprising Lansky was traveling only for recreation. Charles Luciano, prominent white slaver and a former associate of Lansky, is also in Italy. Lansky winced at photo flashes and said mildly: "I don't want any pictures made, please."

Mrs. Lansky, a former manicurist, was more emphatic. She appeared in a sable cape to which were pinned two orchids. On her arm was an ermine wrap. To reporters she cried: "Get out."

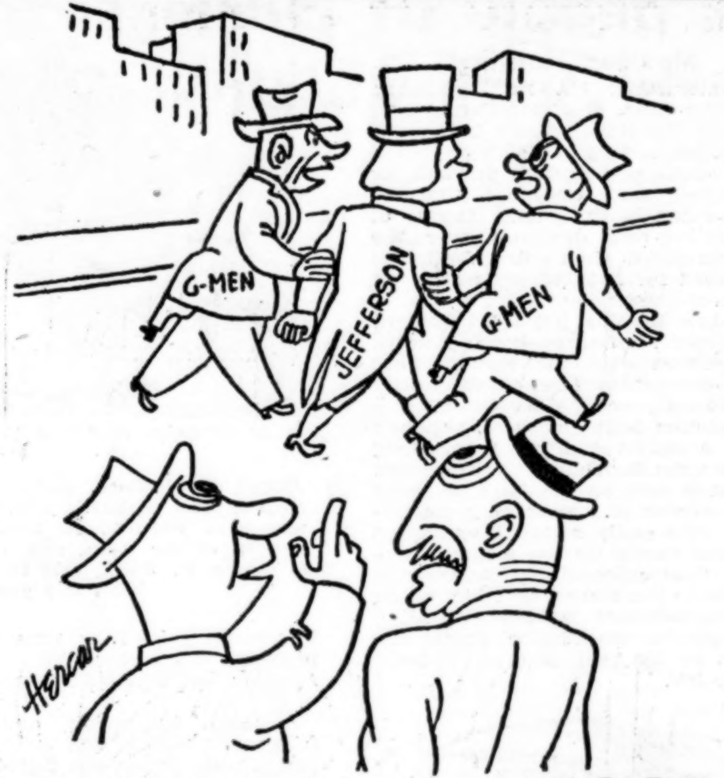
Friends came, too—tight-lipped, fancily dressed men who shouted at photographers: "What the hell do you want pictures for?" Other tight-lipped men were observers from the Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

When newsmen asked about Luciano, the door of the Regal Suite was slammed shut. The Lanskys were left alone amid the damask drapes and the hampers of champagne.

Grim pursuit

In Salinas, Cal., about 100 miles south of San Francisco, John Kovacs picks lettuce for a living. He has a family of seven and they all live in a three-room shack. His 15-year-old daughter must share a room with her step-brother. Not long ago she bore the lad a child.

Last month she bore him a second child and, as she later confessed, beat the infant to death with her doll. She was afraid her parents would scold her. Authorities say the young parents, panic-stricken, stuffed the body into an empty can and threw it in a ditch.



Hoy, Havana

"Why are they arresting him?"

"He's subversive. He wrote the Declaration of Independence."

The girl is charged with murder, her step-brother with a misdemeanor, her parents with contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

HOLIDAY CROWD: In millions of happier homes excursions were being planned. The beaches would be crowded if the weather held. Vacations were beginning for office and factory workers.

But by and large even these were not light-hearted. For many the usual two weeks with pay would be followed by two or more weeks without pay, as factories decided to close down for what promised to be a summer of doldrums or gathering economic storms.

Thawed rents

The unemployed continued to grow more numerous. Some felt insecure in their homes as well as in their jobs. Tighe Woods, Housing Expediter, announced: "The freeze principle of rent control is now a thing of the past." Landlords were granted additional reasons for raising rents.

The New York Tenants Council wired the President: "Unless you intervene promptly to stop this orgy of landlords' profits, authorized by your expediter during this period of unemployment, people can have no faith in your declaration of support for rent controls. Mr. President, what is your answer?"

The President made none.

FOUL, FAIR WEATHER: Harry Truman seemed to treat the expediting of rent rises as if it were an act of God. He took no more responsibility for it than for the long drought in the northeast. Crops there were burned dry by the sun and some farmers already plowed them under. Disaster on the farms, unemployment in the cities, taken with imminence of rent increases brought New England close to catastrophe.

And everywhere orators warmed over their familiar fare for Independence Day weenie roasts. (See p. 12).

WASHINGTON

No face to save

FOR six months the Truman Administration dodged, by every means known to politicians, an open clear-cut fight on its pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law. It weaved and ducked; it made cloakroom deals and bargains; it compromised. Last week the strategy of retreat paid off in total defeat: by a vote of 50 to 40 the Senate approved the heart of Sen. Taft's anti-labor bill: the right of government to break strikes by injunction.

Toward the end, the Administration's retreat had carried it to the point where it could but try feebly to save remnants of face. On the day before the crucial vote, majority leader Sen. Scott W. Lucas (D-Ill.) announced that the President "does not object to a proposal that new labor legislation should provide for emergency seizure of struck plants." But everybody knew

Continued on following page

An editorial article

Only an informed people can have democracy

TWO events of last week invite us to look at the GUARDIAN's record, by way of pointing up what we are and what kind of service we have tried, and will continue trying, to perform.

One of the events is a joyful one for us. In our **Report to Readers** column on p. 11 the story is retold of the GUARDIAN's part in winning a new trial for the Trenton Six.

On this page we record the last obsequies in Washington of "Taft-Hartley repeal"—the first point on the eight-point domestic program which swept President Truman back into office with a Democratic majority in Congress.

WE doubt if our readers need to be assured that there is nothing whatever in the face-lifted Taft-Hartley Act to make us joyful. And we have too much respect for their intelligence to believe they can swallow the fantasies of people like Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, who in a radio debate with Henry Wallace last week repeated the weird theory that to warn against a disaster in advance is to work for and invite disaster.

In reality, of course, the exact opposite is true. **Not** to warn against a disaster which can be seen comng from a point of vantage is to invite it by disarming the counterforces that may be brought into action.

That is exactly how 99% of the press made possible the betrayal by the Administration of its November pledge.

IN our first post-election issue of Nov. 8 we recorded the pledges of the Administration. Henry Wallace wrote in that issue: "The American people have reaffirmed their progressive tradition. . . [But the] promises . . . are all hollow phrases while an armaments economy fattens on more than half of our total annual budget."

On Nov. 15 we reported that "Capital chatter was whittling away at the mandate of 1948. While Secretary of Labor Tobin came out flatly for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law, a poll of congressmen revealed that such a move would have tough going and might possibly fail to make it. There was ominous talk of 'improving' the law." Two weeks later we reported that the Labor Dept. was beginning to work on a "compromise" labor law.

A GUARDIAN headline on Nov. 29 read: 'GET TOUGH' TACTICS OF LEADERS THREATEN DEMOCRACY IN THE CIO. From that time on we continually published facts showing that witch-hunting in the labor movement was sapping its strength to fight for improved legislation.

ON May 9 we summed up the "collapse, compromise and default" of the Truman Administration to show that the "Fair Deal" had "almost reached the point of complete obliteration." On May 16, summing up the labor leaders' betrayal on the Taft-Hartley issue, we said: "The rank and file has been sold out, with the knowledge and cooperation of the national CIO leadership and elements in the top leadership of AFL and the railway brotherhoods."

We have documented the story step by step, and at each step indicated what might be done to avoid the disaster. We repeat that it causes us no joy, but deep bitterness, to have to report now that the disaster has happened. Too few people knew what was happening in time. Action that was taken was too little and too late.

We shall continue to look for, and record, improvements in the situation. At the same time we shall continue giving GUARDIAN readers storm-signals of fact and interpretation before even worse storms break. Only an informed people can have democracy. Only a people that fights to be informed deserves it.

—THE EDITORS

Continued from preceding page

that seizure was synonymous with injunctions.

Taft himself denounced the move as "cowardly, pusillanimous and utterly illogical." In one, two, three order the Senate voted down variants of this evasion, then plumped for injunctions **plus** seizure with a decisive ten-vote majority.

What came next was hardly important. Sen. Lucas himself announced: "It doesn't much matter what happens to the labor bill in view of what happened here today."

FRESH START: President William Green of the AFL concurred; he sent Sen. Lucas a message asking that the whole thing be called off. President Philip Murray of the CIO took a similar kneeling position. Both began looking away from the 81st Congress to the 1950 elections, when all of the House and one-third of the Senate will be up for re-election. "We are now making a fresh start," said Green.

The start was neither fresh nor promising. The Senate accepted by a vote of 51 to 42 a modified version of Taft's labor law. This "bobtailed edition of the Taft-Hartley Act," as Sen. Pepper called it, now goes to the House.

In the meantime labor would continue to live under the Taft-Hartley Law; the Democratic Party's biggest campaign promise was in the books as broken and betrayed.

Exit Wagner

On the same day that efforts to reenact the Wagner Labor Relations Act were deferred to a future time, the father of that law, Sen. Robert F. Wagner, formally retired at the age of 72 after 23 years in the Senate.

His choice of that particular day to resign was coincidental, but the irony was obvious. In a statement expressing his regret at quitting because of ill-health, he said: "While I served in Washington, I had the priceless privilege of taking part in a continuing battle for human rights. Legislation equality at the collective bargaining was enacted to give labor a place of table and to insure its rights. . . ."

The New Deal seemed far away and long ago.

Modified Housing

Counteracting, but not balancing, the bitter defeat of a Taft-Hartley Law repealer, the House passed 228 to 185 a modified version of the Administration housing bill. The bill provides for long-range slum clearance and the construction with public funds of 810,000 low-rent dwellings over the next six years. (In its first draft, the bill called for 1,050,000 units in seven years).

By error the final bill still called for the larger number of housing units. Congressmen said the Senate-House Conference Committee would rectify the slip-up, cancel 240,000 homes.

Opposition to the measure, although bitter, crumbled during the week-long debate when Republican ranks became hopelessly split on the issue. A series of substitutes and weakening amendments were easily defeated, and when the final vote came the majority was larger than expected. The action was a rebuff to the real estate lobby which had spent money lavishly (including an expensive Washington dinner attended by 250 congressmen) to head off the bill.

SMALL BRIGHT SPOT: Twice a vote was forced on an amendment that would have prohibited racial discrimination in public housing projects; twice it was defeated, although 130 Congressmen supported it—a larger number than on any similar test. Among those who helped vote it down (186) was Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (D-N.Y.).

An amendment offered by Rep. A. Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.), giving priority to occupancy in publicly-built housing to persons evicted by slum clearance projects, was opposed by the Administration but won by a whopping 189 to 41 votes.

Although inadequate, and lacking safeguards against discrimination, the housing bill is the one bright spot of the Truman Administration. The bill goes into Senate-House conference for slight adjustments before going to the White House for the President's signature.

GOOD FOR RABBITS: How badly was housing needed? On Wednesday in New York, city authorities issued eviction notices for an entire apartment building at the corner of Broadway and 111th St. Inspectors found 1,000 persons crowded into quarters for 207. Apartments were divided and subdivided till they resembled a rabbit warren. Some tenants were living in six-foot-square closets furnished with a cot, a chair and an electric plug.

Three months ago, when a mother and son died from escaping fumes, the gas in the building was shut off. Last week, after the 20th fire in two years from short circuits, the electricity was shut off. Candles flickered through the building, adding to the menace of fire. Tenants milling in the lobby had two questions: "When do we have to get out? Where will we go?"

NO VACANCIES
R.J.

A club for gentlemen

Joseph Goldwasser (left), Cleveland department store owner, who once helped Amy Mallard, widow of a lynched Georgia Negro, was disturbed by new Klan violence. He took a trip to Atlanta to see Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Klan, and asked to be taken into the organization. He wanted to reform it. Sorry, said Dr. Green, he couldn't. Goldwasser is Jewish. The Klan is a gentlemen's club—white gentiles only.

Do-nothings

Civil rights for Negroes had been a battle-cry in the Democratic campaign; six months after a Democratic victory civil rights for Negroes were [illegible] than before. There were more riots, more violence, more Ku Klux Klan activity.

Hooded mobs had been particularly bold in Alabama, so bold that a week ago a House Judiciary subcommittee announced it would hold hearings on the matter. Last week the hearings were held: they lasted one day, listened to three white witnesses, ended where they began with neither plan nor program to halt lawless attacks.

Dixiecrats in Congress simply brazened it out. Said Rep. Laurie Battle, in whose Birmingham, Ala., district much of the violence had occurred: "The best way Congress can deal with this situation is to stay out."

HANDS OFF: Rep. Rankin (D-Miss.) also spoke up with his usual dignity. Referring to Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, he said: "The less the gentleman from New York sticks his nose into the affairs of the South, the better off we will be."

The witnesses themselves, three newspaper men, were of the opinion that Congress should keep hands off the South. Night-riding was an old Southern custom; Southerners wanted no interference. They were getting very little.

THE TRIALS

Judy's ordeal

THOUGH glad news came from Trenton (see p. 1), elsewhere in the nation civil liberties continued to be trampled by violence or whittled away by court rulings.

In New York 15,000 people rallied in Madison Square Garden to protest the growing tyranny. It was the climax of a two-day conference called by the Civil Rights Congress. Paul Robeson, C. B. Baldwin, secretary of the Progres-

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How many, please?

Don't curse the attendant — blame the oil monopoly

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

IF YOU leave the house in a hurry one of these days and there just aren't any cabs to take you where you're going, it will probably be the fault of the U. S. oil monopoly.

If gas prices don't go down, says Jeremiah Courtney, attorney for the American Taxicab Assn., cabs will have to go out of business. The industry needs 315,000,000 gallons of gas a year—4,500 gallons for each of the 70,000 cabs operating. Cabowners say that price increases imposed by the oil monopoly since 1946, which have cost them $18,900,000 (with new increases adding another $1,690,000 this year) are pure gravy unjustified by economics.

This was the most picturesque, though possibly not the most sensational item presented to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee last week, in a preview of a lengthy and possibly searching investigation into the oil monopoly.

Representatives of labor unions, independent jobbers, highway associations and just plain people spoke their pieces too. They were so angered by soaring gas costs to the consumer, at a time when supplies are at a post-war high and crude oil is in overproduction, that Burnet R. Maybank (D-S. C.), chairman of the committee, promised a real investigation which he estimated might continue for six weeks after the holidays.

PANAMA GIMMICK: Some of the preview glimpses at the opening sessions were:

- U. S. oil companies, whose profits have topped $3,000,000,000 during the last two years, are throwing American seamen out of work by putting more and more tankers under foreign flags, hiring seamen from foreign countries at one-third U. S. rates but charging the customer more instead of letting prices reflect their "economies."

Standard Oil of New Jersey has 66 ships under foreign flags and only 45 under the Stars and Stripes. Its Panamanian subsidiary has earned $15,000,000 in profits since 1944, but held them in Panama. This year, after excess profits taxes lapsed, it declared a $20,000,000 dividend; Standard pocketed the whole thing.

- Retail prices of gasoline have no visible relation to costs. Gas prices in Charleston, S. C., are lower than those in New Orleans, though the gas must be transported there. The reason? There is an independent jobber in Charleston whom the monopoly is trying to drive out of business.

Harry T. Ward, president of the Michigan Good Roads Association, told the committee: "Available evidence tends to prove that because Michigan has a low state tax on gasoline, its motorists paid greater price increases in the post-war period than did the motorists in those states where the tax was already several cents higher."

He cited figures to prove the point, and ventured the belief that the monopoly, grabbing all it can where it can, is afraid it would cut down consumption if it charged higher prices where the tax is already high.

WAITING IN HELL: Hoyt Haddock of the CIO Maritime Committee said Standard of New Jersey had promised to reduce prices when marine transport costs were cut, but had increased them instead.

"There is no question of price competition," he said. "We are going to have to pay through the nose so long as the oil companies are allowed to break the anti-trust laws and tell the government to go to hell."

There was no demurrer from any Senator.

Said John Sparkman (D-Ala.): "I remember when the TVA built dams that made the Tennessee navigable, the oil companies advertised it would save the consumer two cents a gallon on gas. They have been hauling it by barge for years now. We are still waiting for that price cut."

Charles W. Tobey (R-N.H.) asked: "Is this going to be a real investigation or another phony?" Washington newsmen remembered that it was he who, with Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.), whitewashed a similar investigation last year into the relations of prices, profits and wages.

sive Party, Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party, named the critical factors in the fight for political freedom.

NON-POLITICAL: Forgotten in the roll call was the case of Judith Coplon. At 28 she was neither political fighter nor political martyr; yet scarcely any case pending in the courts was so fraught with the terror of the times.

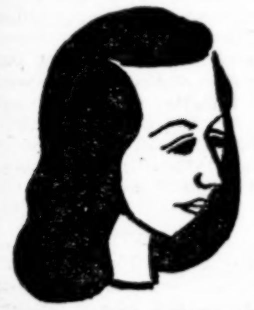
She was charged with taking top-secret documents from the Department of Justice intending to hand them over to Valentin Gubitchev, a member of Russia's UN delegation.

Against her was the fact that when arrested she had in her purse a fistful of government documents or notes concerning them. She said she was writing a novel.

Against the government were these facts:

- No one proved that she ever handed any document to Gubitchev.
- Her superior admitted at least one document had been deliberately planted for her to pick up.
- Details of a lover's quarrel between Gubitchev and Judith Coplon were known to FBI men but suppressed, the **N.Y. Compass'** I. F. Stone reported. If revealed they would have corroborated the girl's story.
- She was disclosed to have stayed at a hotel with one H. G. Shapiro. Shapiro, it developed, was on the prosecution's staff.

BLACK AND RED: Six of the jury were Negroes and all of those were low-s[illegible]ed government workers. Washington is a jimcrow town and a witch-hunters' town. To be black is one liability; to be red another. To compound such liabilities would take grim courage.



After deliberating 26 hours and 57 minutes the jury found Judith Coplon guilty.

On Friday she was sentenced to 40 months to ten years in prison. She refused to ask for mercy and told the judge the trial had been unfair. She is free on $20,000 bail.

The case will re-open in New York. The entire performance is to be repeated with Gubitchev as co-defendant.

The charges vary technically but in substance depend upon the same evidence. If found guilty in New York, she might face an additional 35 years' imprisonment and $25,000 fine.

No psychiatry

A TALL, bald, studious-appearing psychiatrist, Dr. Carl Binger, observed Whittaker Chambers closely when he testified in the Alger Hiss perjury trial. The defense called Dr. Binger to the stand as its last witness. Lloyd Paul Stryker, Hiss' lawyer, asked him a 5,000-word question which summed up the more lurid aspects of Chambers' career. But Dr. Binger was not permitted to answer. The question asked his opinion of Chambers' mental condition.

Hiss and his wife were on the stand most of the week. Cross examination failed to shake their story.

The prosecution then called as a rebuttal witness John Foster Dulles, U.S. delegate to the UN and chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Hiss became president of the Endowment after he left the State Dept. Dulles' testimony added little to the case.

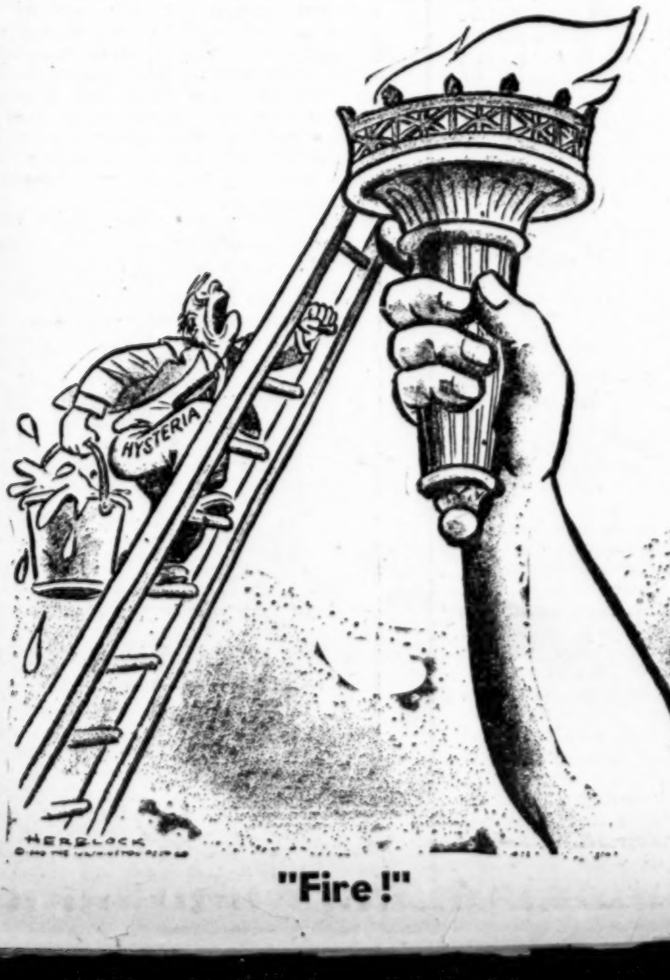
Five-foot shelf

THE trial in New York City of 11 leaders of the Communist Party passed its 100th day last Monday. It was estimated that testimony totaled some 3,125,000 words up to that point, or the equivalent in length of more than 50 novels.

Gilbert Green, Illinois party leader, finished 12 days of direct testimony in which he outlined his beliefs and career as a Communist. He directly denied the testimony of five of the government's witnesses.

During the week the wife of defense attorney Richard Gladstein reported she had received two anonymous phone calls in the early hours of Monday morning, in which threats were made against the life of her husband.

Defendant Irving Potash was overwhelmingly re-elected president of the Furriers Joint Council, CIO.



"Fire!"

Mississippi dissents

'Progressives are growing tired of the same old bunk'

PASCAGOULA, MISS.

WHAT GUARDIAN says is clear and to the point; I believe it has played a large part in preventing the cold war from being turned into a hot one. But I sometimes read articles in it with misgivings: one in particular (June 20) under the heading "Progressive Party Action Program." I do not believe you have anything to do with the policy of the PP National Committee, and therefore don't hold you responsible for the action taken at that meeting.

If the PP had not been mentioned in the article, one might think its "emergency" program against depression was that of either the Democratic or Republican Party. Both have already advocated similar programs, and no doubt some such program will be adopted under the present Administration within the next year or so, regardless of what the PP thinks or says about it.

LEAVE IT TO HARRY: Sincere Progressives—and other left-wingers—are growing sick and tired of listening to the same old bunk. What they want is some real action in remedying the evils of the old social and economic system that brings about these so-called business cycles every so often.

They do not want long-range programs to cushion depressions; they want immediate action to eliminate depressions altogether and forever.

I suggest that all such "emergency" programs be left to the Administration. Let them furnish the people with the sugar-tits during the ensuing depression. Let them do all the soft-soaping—in which event the PP will have all to gain and nothing to lose.

INS AND OUTS: PP also places the blame for the developing depression squarely on the domestic and foreign policies of the present administration.

Personally I am bitterly against the cold war, the Atlantic Pact, the re-arming of Western Europe and the like. Yet if we are to hold these policies responsible for the present depression we might just as logically hold the present Administration responsible for all the panics and depressions we have had for the past hundred years, as if our old economic system had had nothing at all to do with it.

To hell with trying to patch up the old social order.

H. A. Kruse

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Faded rose

SIX months ago California State Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles was the cockiest man in Sacramento. As head of the state Committee on Un-American Activities he had everybody terrified; even his political enemies were afraid to oppose him. He had a program that would have regimented Californians from the cradle to the grave. His bills, 13 of them, whizzed through the Senate, seemed certain of final passage. The man who once wrote **Mexicali Rose** had found a noisier, newer tune.

Last week the song was ended: Jack Tenney abruptly quit as head of the committee. Three days later four of his bills—the remnant of his ambitious program—were killed.

THE 101 DAYS: Within the last six months, the Independent Progressive Party had launched a vigorous campaign against Tenney. It was joined by the State CIO Council, the Lawyers Guild, the Civil Rights Congress, scores of organizations of all kinds. Tenney went down to Los Angeles to campaign for mayor, was soundly beaten. Financial practices of his committee became the subject of a legislative inquiry. His bills were being defeated one by one.

The more the opposition developed, the more people he denounced as Reds. The more people he denounced, the more the opposition grew.

The last of his bills were defeated on the 101st day of the California legislature. The first hundred days are the hardest, Californians were saying last week.

Christoffel: 5 to 4

IN 1947 Harold R. Christoffel, president of Milwaukee Local 248 of the United Auto Workers (CIO), was leading a long and bitter strike against the Allis-Chalmers Co. Fred Hartley, then Republican chairman of the House Labor Commitee and co-author of the Taft-Hartley Law, hailed Christoffel before his group, asked him if he was a Communist. He was not and never had been, said Christoffel. Hartley then called in Louis F. Budenz, former editor of the **Daily Worker** who turned against his former associates. He said Christoffel was a Communist.

On those grounds the Department of Justice prosecuted Christoffel for perjury, won a conviction.

O. John Rogge, defense attorney for Christoffel, called the trial a "wretched and vindictive persecution."

HOLLYWOOD HOPE: Last week the United States Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision, reversed the conviction on the technical ground that the House committee did not have a quorum present when Christoffel testified.

Out in California ten Hollywood screen writers and directors, under contempt convictions for refusing to tell the Un-American Activities Committee whether or not they were Communists, took hope. Their attorney, Robert W. Kenny, said there was "an identical parallel" between the Christoffel case and those of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, now on appeal.

LABOR WEEK

Left wing is right

"SURE we're leftwing," said a veteran AFL'er from Pittsburgh, "But leftwing, one wing or busted wing, the rank and file is together on repeal of Taft-Hartley." He was one of 390 representatives of CIO and AFL unions who met in Washington June 26, to push the fight for total repeal of Taft-Hartley out of the talking stage.

GUARDIAN's C. W. Fowler reported: "The meeting was an impressive demonstration of letfwing determination to assert real leadership in the American labor movement. Many delegates proudly used the subversive word leftwing in describing their unions—something new for U.S. labor."

FIGHTING WATCHDOGS: Joe Selly of the American Communications As-

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sociation (CIO), who acted as chairman of the one-day session, summed up the spirit of the delegates who spoke for nearly 1,000,000 rank-and-file union members. He said: "We're going to bring the labor movement back to its old fighting tradition. The people are just beginning to move. We're the ones who follow true CIO policy. The supporters of the phony Taft-Hartley amendments are the ones who flout it."

Immediate objectives were to get Rep. Marcantonio's (ALP-N.Y.) repeal bill on the House floor, collect 1,000,000 petition signatures for repeal and call united labor rallies in every city. A watchdog unit was set up to pressure Congress and the President. The meeting also called on Murray and Green for a one day national work stoppage to sharpen the demand for repeal.

The meeting was organized on 10 days' notice by presidents of seven CIO unions. It was not endorsed by national CIO or AFL leaders. One rank-and-file delegate said: "It's not true there's no difference between CIO and AFL any more. CIO sells out behind your back. AFL does it out in the open."

2 labor worlds

THE AFL and CIO buried the hatchet in the Swiss Alps. They met in Geneva with right-wing union officials from 32 countries to set up a world anti-communist labor federation.

"We are in this work heart and soul. . . . On this business there aren't any differences," said CIO secretary-treasurer James B. Carey. The past "is finshed and done with," concurred AFL secretary-treasurer George Meany.

The new federation will be set up in November. It claims to represent 43,000,000 unionists, mainly in Great Britain, Canada and the U.S.

THE OTHERS: The same week 450 shirt-sleeved delegates, claiming to represent 70,000,000 workers in 50 nations (mainly east European and Asiatic), gathered in the sweltering Palazzo Dell' Arte in Milan for the Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

With the heat wave sending the temperature into the 90's, the delegates heard Louis Saillant of France, WFTU secretary-general, attack U.S. and British trade unions for having allied themselves with "monopoly capitalists who would prefer another war to the approaching economic crisis."

This was WFTU's first meeting since last January's walkout by the CIO and the British Trades Union Congress. WFTU scattered invitations to the meeting across the world and kept a particular eye open to response from the U.S. At least two answers came in. The CIO Cooks and Stewards, a WFTU supporter, said it was too busy to send an observer. A California local of the CIO Auto Workers declared itself "in complete sympathy" but declined to participate.

Farmers and workers

UNIONISTS were trooping home from Davenport, Iowa, last week after the first trade union conference ever called to consider the farmer.

In Davenport's Black Hawk Hotel 115 delegates gathered on June 20. They represented Mine, Mill and Smelter; United Electrical; Farm Equipment; Packinghouse; Food, Tobacco and Agriculture; Iowa Farmers' Union; Minnesota Farmers' Union, and cooperative groups.

They moved to unite farmers and workers in mutual support. They rallied to repeal Taft-Hartley and talked about the Brannan Plan. They thought the plan was a "step in the direction of support for family-type farms" but failed to provide an adequate income for all farmers. They advocated measures to increase food consumption and help farmers raise income by increasing production.

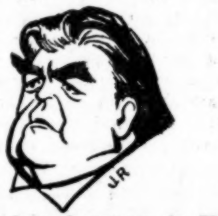
Workers and farmers alike needed an economy of abundance, the delegates resolved. Elmer Benson, chairman of the Progressive Party, declared: "We must join together with all who are willing to fight against depression and war."

The delegates made their union permanent and named it the Midwest Farm-Labor Alliance.

Labor briefs

Also in labor's week:

- John L. Lewis, involved in contract negotiations with soft coal operators, proposed a three-day week in the coal mines. It would cut coal production 40%, share the work, but not solve the basic crisis of the coal industry: overproduction in a contracting economy. Operators rejected the plan. On Thursday Lewis set out to stabilize the mines on his own. He ordered soft-coal miners to work three days a week and no more until further notice.



- Striking longshoremen in Hawaii, members of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union rejected the proposal of a territorial fact-finding body to end the two-month strike. The workers asked a 32-cent-an-hour increase, struck when operators offered them only 12. The board recommended an increase of 14 cents an hour.

Remember Oswiecim?

The stink of death still clings to the furnace walls

By Richard A. Yaffe

WARSAW

JUST back from a two-week jaunt around the Polish countryside, and where to begin, oh where to begin? Shall it be at one end of the pole — Oswiecim — or the other — Zakopane? Shall it be the feel and the smell of the crematory, or the fresh, clean, snow-filled air of the mountains?

I'm going to try Oswiecim—that is, if I can find the proper words to set down one after another without getting too emotional about it. This business of being an objective reporter is so much hogwash. Anyone who sees Oswiecim only with the eyes and not with the heart is a camera and not a man.

3 WAYS TO DIE: The legend over the gate at Oswiecim, which the Germans called Auschwitz, says "Arbeit Macht Frei" — "Work Liberates." There were three ways of being liberated from Oswiecim, our guide told us wryly—work to death, refuse to work and be killed, and just plain be killed.

He knew. Like all other guides and workers at Oswiecim, he was an inmate of the camp, and found a fourth way of coming out alive, but only after more than 5,000,000 of his fellows were fed to the furnaces there. They found life through the Soviet army which liberated the camp.

Here, in this barrack, are gathered the remnants, the little scraps and tatters of 5,000,000 persons, most of them Jews, who were fed to the flames so neatly and so methodically.

Here is a room of shoes, 300,000 pairs of shoes; not all the shoes that the Germans gathered, but only the shoes they had no further use for. The rest were sent back home; some, perhaps, are being worn even now by Germans over whom has been said an abracadabra—who have now become denazified and clean. Shoes marked with names of bootmakers in France, Greece, Belgium, Holland and Rumania — all places where a Jew could be hunted down and sent here. Work shoes and dress shoes, and even a pair of gay slippers marked "Riviera."

VIGIL OF A DOLL: And next to this big room, a little room in which a doll on a shelf keeps guard over scuffed, toeless, muddy little remembrances of the little enemies of the Third Reich.

Then a glass case with the hair of 40,000 human beings—red hair and blonde hair and black hair, some in braids, some still in faded ribbons. There was much more hair at Oswiecim, but it had already gone —into paint brushes.

Rooms full of pots and pans, of torn and battered torahs, of artificial arms and legs torn from the cripples. Crutches. Artificial hands. Neck braces, back braces, abdominal belts. Cripples, too, were enemies of the Third Reich.

And a large room filled with baskets and stringbags and shopping bags of paper and cloth, each crammed with possessions and each tagged with the name of its owner. Herbert Meyer of Lodz had a particularly fine shopping bag, handmade by a craftsman, probably by Meyer himself who might have been a tailor. On top of some articles of Meyer's clothing was a neatly folded prayer shawl of good wool, and peeping from the left side was a baby bottle, its red rubber nipple cracking with the years, and its milk still clinging, curdled, to its sides.

THE FROGS ARE FAT: The crematory was a model of efficiency—beltline production along the most modern lines: Here the people entered, here they undressed, here they were given showers, here they entered a windowless room, here the cans of cyclone gas were dropped, here the elevator that took them to the ovens. Then clank, and the end. Ashes. Ashes and bits of bones emptied into a pond in the rear, now overgrown with algae and playground of fat frogs.

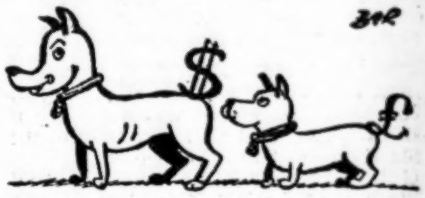
There were five more such crematoria at Oswiecim's branch factory, Birkenau; the Germans destroyed them when the Russians hove into sight. Certain things they could not obliterate—the women's barracks, for instance, where 1,000 women were jammed into a hut about 100 x 20 feet, illuminated and aired only by a door at each end, with no sanitary facilities but a single faucet marked: "Do not drink from this tap."

The women are gone, of course, but reminders of them remain — reminders that I cannot write about, even yet.

THE WORLD

Crippsian brink

BRITAIN'S economic crisis was headlined round the world, particularly in the U.S. Some U.S. financial circles were exerting heavy pressure to force Britain to devalue the pound—a move which would drastically cut British living standards. At the same time through the European Marshall Plan Council, Washington was trying to break into Britain's closed markets.



GUARDIAN correspondent Gordon Schaffer reported from London that on Sunday almost the entire British press frontpaged the crisis as the consequence of U.S. pressure. No one, he said, believes the denial of Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps. Schaffer's report follows:

MEANS TEST: The **Financial Times,** principal organ of London's City (the British Wall St.), commented this week: "Influential ECA officials are said to hold that Britain is presently living beyond its means, with living standards kept artificially high by means of bilateral trade agreements. They mention a country like Italy which has succeeded in substantially improving her position because her standard of living has been kept low."

The **Financial Times** article pinpointed the background of the crisis which is expected to hit Britain with full force within the next few weeks. In 1931, Wall St. in alliance with the British Conservatives insisted on a 10% cut in British unemployment relief as a condition for a loan to save the pound.

The same alliance is being formed today as Sir Stafford Cripps faces the combined onslaught of the conservative governments of Western Europe and the U.S. Marshall Plan administration. Gone are the days when British government spokesmen gaily declared Marshall Plan aid was stringless.

EASTERN OUT: The Labor Government is fighting with its hands tied. The only weapon it has against the U.S. program is trade with Russia and Eastern Europe which, unlike the dollar areas, want British goods and can supply food and raw materials. But this weapon has been made ineffective by Bevin's anti-Russian policy.

Some curtailments of dollar imports, including imports from the U.S., now appears inevitable. There will soon be demands by Tories for government cuts in expenditures on social services, but not, of course, for cuts in armaments expenditures. Pressure, already

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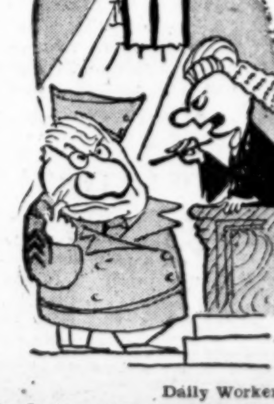


Daily Worker, London

"And what would you do if the Americans invaded England, as if they hadn't?"

Continued from preceding page

exerted by unloading government stocks on a falling market, will be intensified by dismissals in industries hit by the drop in British exports.

If Cripps had the courage to stand up to Washington, he would start an avalanche and probably produce an election winner since resentment at U.S. pressure is intense. But there is no sign that the government is willing even to consider cuts in arms spending and a policy change towards Russia.

PILL FOR UNCLE: The **New Statesman and Nation** said the Anglo-Argentine trade agreement was necessary if Britain was "to shelter herself from the blast of the American depression. . . . If the government is convinced that Washington has got to swallow this pill, then the best course is to push it as quickly as possible down the American throat. . . . If Congress threatens that this means the end of Marshall Plan aid, it is better to call that particular bluff now rather than wait until 1952."

Meanwhile, Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder arrived in Paris, where the European Marshall Plan Council was meeting, to convince the dissenting British that the American way is the right way. One French economist remarked: "Snyder has arrived to decide when and how King Dollar gives the **coup de grace** to Lady Sterling." On Thursday it was announced that an obscure "compromise" had been reached. None could tell who won.

A letter from China

NATIONALIST bombs fell on Shanghai's crowded slums. Two hundred died. The bombing was without military significance, the killings as wanton as massacre after armistice. At Canton officials of the Chinese government-in-flight proclaimed a blockade, but even the U.S. refused to recognize it as effective.

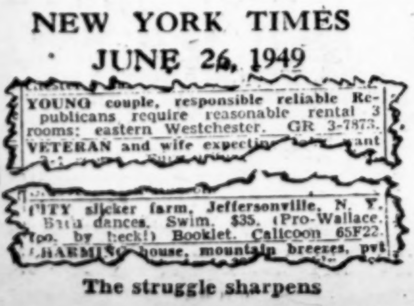
More important than blockades or bombs was a letter written from Tientsin by Grace Liu, U.S.-born wife of the general manager of the Tientsin Water Works. She had just seen a cartoon in the **Saturday Evening Post** showing the long arm of Russia about to cut off the head of Chinese with a sickle while bashing it in with a hammer. She sent the letter to the editor of the **Post** last April. It has not yet been published in that magazine. This is a small part of what Grace Liu had to say, as reported in the **China Digest** of Hong Kong:

The coming of Pa Lu

"It's now three months since the Pa Lu Chuin (Eighth Route Army) took over the city.

"I had expected that American books and magazines would probably be banned and that surely no more American movies would be shown. I expected to have to give up my American coffee and American fruit juices and V-8! My children could no longer drink Borden's Hemo and Irradiated Pet milk.

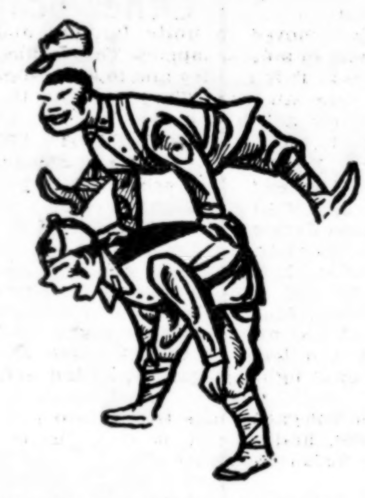
"My first sight of the Pa Lu Chuin was not reassuring. I was standing on a chair at my dining-room window, watching over the garden wall the apparently endless line stream by about one half-hour after a fierce street battle just on the other side of our wall. Suddenly I heard a shrill whistle and the line halted, and the soldiers leaned against the wall 'at ease.'


NEW YORK TIMES
JUNE 26, 1949

YOUNG couple, responsible reliable Republicans require reasonable rental 3 rooms; eastern Westchester. GR 3-7873.
VETERAN and wife expecti [illegible] ant

CITY slicker farm, Jeffersonville, N. Y. Barn dances. Swim. $35. (Pro-Wallace, too, by heck!) Booklet. Callicoon 65F22.
CHARMING house, mountain breezes, pvt

The struggle sharpens



"And when I saw their faces the Hunnish horde changed before my eyes into a crowd of jolly, red-cheeked Chinese boys, laughing, scuffling and kicking at each other like schoolboys on a lark.

PLAY BOYS: "Every morning at 5:30 insistent blasts of a police whistle sound up and down our block for about ten minutes. Then all the soldiers in this neighborhood gather in a field two doors away from us and start the day with calisthenics and song.

"They have taught all the children in the city how to do the Yang Ko—the Rice Planting Dance; and in the evening after their early supper, they gather in squads in the street and, led by a combination of cheer-leader and orchestra conductor, they fill the air with lusty, vigorous, joyful harmony.

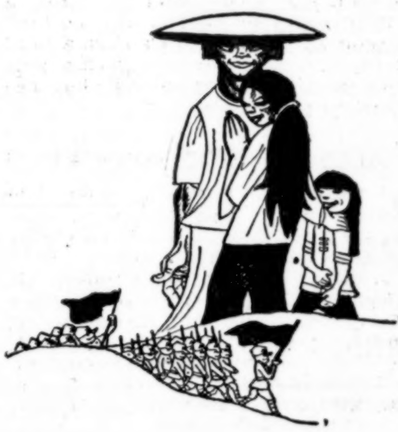
"Our pre-liberation fears have not materialized and there's no change in our way of living so far. If there is a curtain it certainly is not iron, for I've received the February and March **Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal, McCalls, The Woman, Your Life, Journal of Living** and an assortment of movie magazines. My husband has received literally stacks of **Engineering News Records,** and the doctors are getting their medical journals and the journals of dietetics and nutrition.

HOME-STUDY: "Last night we had a most interesting session of 'hsueh hsi, hsueh hsi' ('Study to Learn'—a Communist practice) here in our home. Besides myself and my husband, the others 'studying to learn' were a Chinese doctor and his American wife. Our 'instructor' was the Director of Public Utilities, the man responsible for not only the Water, Light, Power and Tramway Companies, but for all the factories. He is a Whangpoa graduate and has been a Chinese Communist Party member since 1927.

"He said he was very willing to answer any questions we wished to ask him. I wanted to know if the Chinese Communists advocated class struggle. He said they emphasized the welfare and education of the workers and the farmers. They wanted to raise the living standard and intellectual level of those two classes and build upon them; and in the new society there would be no place for the class of parasites who lived and got rich off the labor of others."

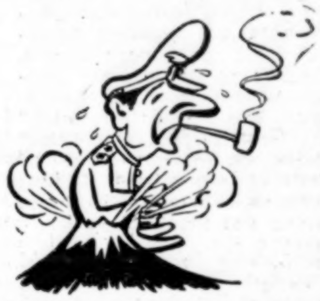
"Another thing he said was: 'It is very hard for us to kill. We value human life too highly.'

"Finally the doctor asked what country would be considered a model to pattern after. Mr. Ching smiled and said, 'Hai may yo na yang kuo chia' ('There is no such country.')"



Song of Siberia

SHUJI YAMADA, Mayor of Maizuru, put on his top hat on Tuesday morning and went to the pier. Supreme Allied Commander MacArthur had demanded that Russia repatriate Japanese captives and at last 2,000 were coming home.



Welcoming speeches were to be sympathetic to the woes of Soviet prisoners, widely told in the press. The 9,000-ton Takasagu Maru came into sight. The sound floated across the harbor of many voices raised in song. The rescued men could be seen lining the rails. Cordial expressions on top-hatted faces dimmed. The song the repatriates were singing was the Internationale.

HALF-FLEDGED: The welcome ceremonies were completely shot after that. Speakers tried to be sympathetic to those they thought came fresh from concentration camps. The men heckled cheerfully, shouting at the top of their lungs: "Don't worry about us. We are men thoroughly trained in Marxism-Leninism." They told reporters: "We have all taken an oath to join the Communist Party."

The Mayor said he regarded their attitude as "a slap in the face." Early press reports sounded alarmed. At least 95,000 more such repatriates were expected this year. Later commentators did a quick breakdown of the repatriates and produced these statistics: 20% "full-fledged communists," 60% "sympathizers," 20% "not undemocratized"; all well fed.

Kumar Goshal

U.S. horns in on Indonesia —but maybe not for long

"OUR policy in Indonesia has failed completely," writes the Netherlands weekly **Haagsche Post.** The business weekly **Elzevirs** angrily reports that the U.S. is running those sections of the East Indies still in Dutch hands: "If the Americans continue their policy, we shall lose all Indonesia."

The U.S. commercial stake in Indonesia is large. Before the war General Motors, Ford, Goodyear, Unilever and Colgate-Palmolive-Peet, Ever-Ready and National Carbon Companies and the British-American Tobacco Co. had set up shop there. Standard Oil and Socony Vacuum had concessions, too. There is a persistent rumor in India that secret agreements have already been made, giving U.S. capital greater freedom in Indonesia.

REDS AND PUPPETS: But the game is tricky for the State Dept. as well as the Dutch.

As a member of America's anti-Communist group in Europe, Holland will balk if she cannot continue to hinge her economy on exploitation of Indonesia. But the Indonesian Republic, which the Dutch have flouted their UN pledges to try and destroy, is vying with the Dutch in protestations of loathing for "reds."

The Dutch have acted with calculated shrewdness. They signed treaties with the Republic when the going got rough, launched attacks when they had built up their strength. Finally they captured the Republic's capital, Djokjakarta, and herded off its government heads to the island of Bangka. In the meantime they built up puppet governments in different parts of Indonesia, making use of feudalistic Indonesian princes eager for the job.

WANNA BULWARK? March 12, 1949, was set as a date for a round-table conference at The Hague to set up a Federal Government of Indonesia by July, 1950.

The Dutch said representatives of the puppet states as well as the Republic would be invited. There was stalling, announcements, and more stalling.

On June 15 Dutch foreign minister Dr. Dirk U. Stikker told news correspondents that Western democracies should consider Indonesia's future "in the light of advancing communism in Asia," and help Indonesia "stand as a bulwark of freedom." He added that the Dutch would not exclude other nations from investing in Indonesia.

HAMID LIKES US: Saving Indonesia from communism then became the theme of dispatches from Batavia. Names cropped up in the news such as Sultan Hamid of Borneo who, fearing the threat of democracy to his privileges, equates it with communism.

"I would not rule out the U.S. having troops here if Washington desired them," said Hamid.

The climax came on June 21, when Soekarno, president of the Republic, "declared his personal and vigorous opposition to communism in a colorful conference with touring U.S. correspondents." Soekarno added that the Dutch could stay in Indonesia and their investments and later foreign investments would be safeguarded. The round-table conference is now scheduled for the end of July or the first of August. Hamid will be there.

NO BED OF ROSES: What does it all add up to for the Indonesian people? As in India, the original united opposition to foreign rule broke up when victory was almost in sight. Not being revolutionaries, the Republic's leaders Soekarno and Hatta liquidated left-wing leaders like Sjarifoedin, Muso and Alimin. They made a series of compromises that inevitably landed them among those who, in the name of saving the world from communism, wish to save the world for themselves.

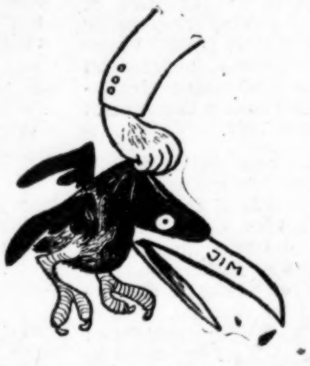
Careful as Dutch plans have been, it is very doubtful they will work out. Already there are reports of "bandits and Communists" carrying on guerrilla warfare. All indications point to a prolonged struggle.

As for State Dept. hopes, a fake Federal Government to be worked out at the round-table conference seems to be the best possible compromise. But such a government would hardly be stable enough to invite greater capital investment from abroad.

Radio report

The fight is on to give Negroes a fair break on the airways

By John Norton



RADIO, which the average citizen listens to five hours a day, is one of the most important forces molding America's mind. To radio's shame, its great power actively contributes to race prejudice. Shows like "Amos 'n Andy" and "Beulah" portray Negroes as shiftless, ignorant clowns or conniving scoundrels. Dozens of others, subtly or obviously, slander and insult Negroes.

Now, with television's rapid boom, the situation is growing worse—for the double-barreled impact of video makes these stereotypes even more poisonous. The "Children's Hour," on which youngsters frequently sing chauvinist songs, is infinitely worse when sight is added to sound. The "Pic and Pat Minstrel Show," done in blackface, was a regular TV program early this year and may soon be revived.

JIMCROW AIR: To root out this bias the Committee for the Negro in the Arts has called a conference at the Hotel Theresa, New York, on July 9. CNA points out that there are no Negro producers or directors, commentators or newscasters in radio; only a handful of Negro actors, announcers, writers and engineers. Negro singers and musicians get only occasional jobs. Negroes employed by the studios serve mainly as attendants, mail clerks and porters.

Recently the N. Y. Radio Executives Club had a session saluting Negro performers—not one of whom had a regular network outlet. And not a single member of the audience was a Negro.

Some independent New York stations have put on programs using Negro artists. WMCA aired "New World A-Coming," which dealt realistically with race problems, and used Jackie Robinson as a sportscaster. WNEW had a dramatic show with an all-Negro cast and it scored a notable success. Mutual for a brief period had an audience participation show, "Harlem Hospitality Club." Because of Southern stations' protests the word Harlem was deleted from the title. These programs, however, were exceptions.

COMMENTATOR DRIVE: Radio is big business and a few local stations have programs directed at the "Negro market." These are record shows that feature boogie-woogie and be-bop and try to tap the pocketbooks of Harlem and other Negro ghettos.

The Voice of Freedom, a progressive organization with 2,000 monitors, is sparking a drive to get a Negro commentator on the air. VOF is dispatching speakers to unions and other groups; preparing a transcribed dramatic show on jimcrow radio and discs of William S. Gailmor and Johannes Steel speaking on the need for a Negro voice in radio. All three records will be made available on request. Write to VOF, 122 W. 71st St., N.Y.C.

Other people's ideas

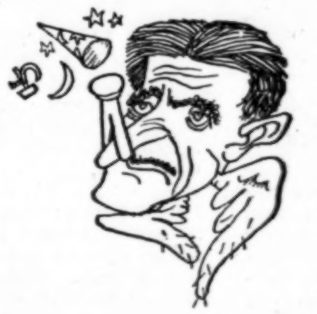
Hate thy neighbor

By Sebastian Barr

BERTRAND RUSSELL, **Time** magazine, the judges of the Book-of-the-Month Club and Alfred Kazin are very much impressed with George Orwell's new book, **Nineteen Eighty-Four.**

Mr. Orwell is an English writer who says he dislikes "smelly little orthodoxies like communism and astrology". (Has anybody here ever heard of an Un-American Committee or Loyalty Investigation that asked the victim if he believed in astrology?) Mr. Orwell also fought in Spain for the Loyalists. "What I saw in Spain," he says, "and what I have since seen of the inner workings of left wing political parties have given me a horror of politics."

It is interesting to note that it was not Franco or the inner workings of reactionary political parties—as in Greece, for instance—that gave Mr. Orwell the horrors.



JUST as there is nobody more Holy Roman Catholic than a convert, so there is nobody more fanatically reactionary than an ex-leftist. Mr. Orwell, when he was a leftist, suffered from excessive zeal. Beware of zealots! When they turn, their guilt complex is a stench in one's nostrils.

However, even a crackpot who lumps communism and astrology together might presumably—but only presumably—write a good book.

Nineteen Eighty-Four is a Utopia in reverse. By that year, says Mr. Orwell, the world will be divided into three monster slave states perpetually warring among themselves. Blindly obedient, undernourished, overworked, deprived of past and future, without tradition, without personality, without love, wretched human beings will drag out their miserable lives in constant fear of the thought police. Everything will be double-talk: "war is peace, freedom is slavery, ignorance is strength"; only spies, provocateurs, liars, forgers, cheats and cretins need apply.

BUT let's quote **Time**, the former home of Whittaker Chambers, for a bit of the flavor. "No one would have suspected that Winston and Julia were capable of 'crimethink' (dangerous thoughts) or a secret desire for 'ownlife' (individualism). After all, Party-Member Winston Smith was one of the Ministry of Truth's most trusted forgers.... And Party-Member Julia was outwardly so 'goodthinkful' (naturally orthodox), that after a brilliant girlhood in the Spies, she became active in the Junior Anti-Sex League and was snapped up by Pornosec, a sub-section of the government Fiction Department that ground out happy-making pornography for the masses."

And what will it be that has brought our world to this sorry pass by 1984? It will be man's dream of improving his lot. It will be socialism. It will be that "messy little ideology", communism. What bilge!

LEWIS GANNETT, in his excellent review of Mr. Orwell's book in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, pointed out that if it can be said that absolute power corrupts absolutely, absolute individualism can be just as dangerous.

Mr. Orwell, it is plain, is being eaten up by the cancer of absolute individualism, and from this cancer comes his lack of faith in his fellow man and his hatred of life.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Big clearance sales

LOOK for the start of the largest clearance sales in many years this week as both manufacturers and retailers seek to unload inventories. Shrinking public purchasing power has left heavy stocks of summer merchandise in manufacturers' hands, and price cuts up to 50% are appearing.

Sharpest reductions are on summer furniture and luggage, merchandisers report. A new round of price cuts on men's shirts is also appearing; some stores again are offering fairly well-made shirts at around $2.

At clearance prices, it will pay homemakers to consider some summer furniture for year-round use. More and more people are discovering that tables and chairs sold for outdoor use actually make sturdy, easy-to-clean dinette equipment. Some Chinese peel, rattan and other outdoor chairs are usable as occasional chairs.

Refrigerator prices are being chopped again for the second time this year. Lowest-priced are now the AMC brand, and the Sears Roebuck **Coldspot**, both under $200 for the eight-cubic-foot size.

Lowest-priced automatic washing machine on the market now is the new-model **Bendix**, list-priced at $179.95 but sold for less by discount houses. Trade experts consider this machine well designed. It will produce cleaner clothes than the old-model **Bendix**, since it has an inner liner which squeezes clothes damp dry. It does not have to be bolted to the floor.

New outpouring of shoddy

FROM now on check clothing quality carefully. Some manufacturers are reducing prices, but are also lowering quality.

This quality deterioration is showing up in omission of preshrinking and the finishes used by careful manufacturers to prevent fading. Check these points:

SHRINKAGE: Look for a label guaranteeing no more than 2% residual shrinkage, and preferably only 1%. If the amount of residual shrinkage is not stated you should allow for 5% shrinkage.

VAT-DYEING: Check the label on any patterned material to see if the goods have been vat-dyed. Vat dyes have superior lasting qualities. Also, look on the reverse side of printed material to see if the dye shows through. Poor-quality dyes will be visible only on the exterior surface. Generally you'll get better quality for the same price in solid-color materials than fancy patterns.

FADE-RESISTANCE: Beware acetate rayon dresses, sports shirts, slacks, other goods unless the label guarantees fade resistance. Acetates, more than viscose rayons, are subject to gas fading, especially in blue colors.

Effective repellent

NO need for vacationers to be bothered by insects or to pay high prices for brand-name repellents. Just go to a drug store and ask for a 10% solution of dimethyl phthalate in rubbing alcohol. This is the preparation the Army uses as an insect repellent.

Tag Days

From now until July 18, every day is Tag Day to help the Spanish Refugee Appeal help the victims of Franco's fascism. In New York permission has been denied for the customary outdoor solicitation.

But you can call at the office of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (192 Lexington Av., N. Y.) or write for an ingenious cardboard bank for collections among friends. It'll do your soul good.

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All subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN are paid for. If you are getting the paper without having paid for it, this means someone else paid for the subscription. You won't be billed.

Film fury

A tale of two stinkeroos

PARIS

WARNER BROS.' "red" fantasy **The Iron Curtain**, banned for months by the French Board of Review because of public protests, finally opened at the Avenue Theater here. No Hollywood premiere was ever more spectacular.

At 9 p.m., when the first show had been on for about an hour amid boos and hisses, squads of police cars pulled up and a corps of gendarmes spilled out. The lights went on. Several spectators were on the stage shouting to an applauding audience: "We want French films." Some people in the balcony shouted to the police to slug them.

Cops flew in all directions, striking wildly with their nightsticks. Half of the gendarmes charged the line of people waiting outside, dragging off anyone within reach. A news photographer trying to get a shot was shoved down. Police told a protesting reporter: "The press is getting what it deserves."

Inside, women hid under seats to avoid being beaten. A cop grabbed a girl, ripped off her dress, carried her to the patrol wagon where an already-arrested group was singing the Marseillaise.

When tickets were put back on sale at 10:30 after nearly 70 people were arrested, Negroes, Indochinese and North Africans were automatically turned away; others were barred for looking "suspicious."

The Iron Curtain had descended on Paris.

—**Stanley Karnow**

NEW YORK

POTENT! Daring! Shocking! Red fascism spawned in twisted minds! Filmed behind sealed studio doors!

They screamed it over the radio, shoved it at you in subway posters and newspaper ads. It was the advance publicity for Republic Pictures' new under-the-bed safari called **The Red Menace.** It detailed the murderous movements of Marxist Mollie and her bomb-hurling pals.

Last week the picture opened in New York and this is what the critics said:

Times: "If the local comrades are as corny as they act in this film, then their only likely potential would be to make us laugh ourselves to death."

Compass: ". . . fourth-rate movie, and a fourth-rate movie remains a fourth-rat movie."

Herald Tribune: ". . . extremely embarrassing . . . dull . . . dismal . . . ponderous. . . ."

Boo!

Chicago dateline

Bedlam and slaughter in Springfield

By Bernie Asbel

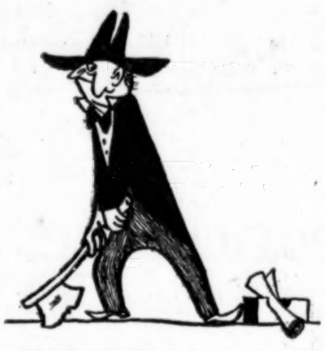
CHICAGO

THE closing days of the Illinois legislature produced more bedlam than the usual annual quota. The Republican Senate killed in batches bills passed by the Democratic House. Fierce politicking in the House also brought on mass slaughter of other bills.

The Republican (though pro-Stevenson) Chicago **Daily News** took the Senate to task for "reckless financial irresponsibility" for being "in favor of every appropriation but against every tax."

Gov. Adlai Stevenson at his inauguration wooed Republicans by opposing a graduated income tax or any fundamental tax revision. A chorus of editors from the "liberal" **Sun-Times** to the Hearst **Herald-American** hailed the new "high-minded statesman."

DEAD AND BURIED: The Governor submited a goulash of miscellaneous revenue proposals. Mainly they were a



broadened sales tax, increased gasoline taxes and small business licenses.

At GUARDIAN press time, the latter two already were dead with the sales tax next for the guillotine.

The 1950 - minded Senate then took Stevenson's record request for $1,273,000,000 and embellished it with an additional $327,000,000 on a raft of sure-fire vote-getting projects. Conspicuously absent from the spending was money for housing or any form of public works projects to relieve rising unemployment.

Stevenson, caught in the snare of his own courtship of Republican votes, viewed the impending collapse of his program and said: "I will not approve an unbalanced budget."

Legislators on both sides found it easier than usual to take a firm stand on either side of the central legislative issue—that of saving Stevenson's face or beheading him. The **Sun-Times** reported that on the gas tax alone, road builders and cement interests supplied a $35,000 kitty to buy votes for the measure, while demands upon the oil interests for killing the tax ran as high as $60,000 from one politico.

Rent: no blanket

LAST Tuesday, 15 members of the Cook County Rent Advisory Board met at the Morrison Hotel to determine whether Chicago would get a blanket rent increase.

They brought in with them testimony and exhibits of 80 witnesses presented during four noisy nights in the Opera House three weeks ago. Landlords had demanded a compromise 45% hike — about halfway between their desired 93% and the no-increase argued by tenants. The broadest prediction was for approval of a 15% increase for rents not raised since 1942.

Argument was expected to last several days. Early in the debate, Mike Mann, CIO regional director and public member of the board, moved to turn down a blanket increase. A secret vote was taken. Eight votes backed Mann. Seven opposed him. The issue of blanket hikes, for the time, was closed.

Meanwhile, tenants continued to ask: "When is a blanket?"

DOUBLE TALK: Chicago rent chief Norman Shogren, backed by boss Tighe Woods, stepped up his correspondence course for landlords on how to win individual increases under the present law. While landlords assimilated his chapters on the fair net operating income formula, Shogren announced on June 24 that no increase under the formula would be announced until after July 8. On June 27, Shogren said that orders for such increases were already being issued.

One tenant told reporters his rent was raised to $121.50, 52% over the 1942 level.

Rod Holmgren is on vacation.

West Coast wire

Freedoms Foundation, or, Love that buck!

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

America's imaginative business and advertising fraternity last week in Los Angeles ballyhooed positively its biggest give-away show of the decade—a fabulously endowed "Freedoms Foundation" bursting with cash prizes for pluggers of the "American Way."

No less a huckster than Don Belding of Foote, Cone & Belding (love that soap, love that buck) heads the Foundation, which will pass out $85,000 or better annually.

Editors, preachers, teachers, moviemakers, writers, orators and others who win patriotic chunks of Foundation goodwill do not have to send in boxtops. They will get the stuff just for being good Americans and doing their daily duty in accordance with a brightly amended Bill of Rights authored by Belding.

FREEDOM JACKPOT: The new Bill thoughtfully spells out a number of rights which the National Assn. of Manufacturers thinks the founding fathers schluffed over a little carelessly, notably those having to do with the right to work and bargain (who said collectively?) and freedom from interference by the government.

Even speechmakers in the House and Senate will be in line for prizes from the freedom jackpot, Belding explained, and also union editors.

Prizes will be awarded annually just after a big patriotic pageant. Initial award-giving will occur Nov. 21 at Boston University, and President Eisenhower of Columbia will pass out the gifts. President Stassen of Pennsylvania will head the awards committee.

SCABS FOR FREEDOM: Belding announced Freedoms Foundation to a bored press conference in the Los Angeles office of Dr. Fred D. Fagg Jr., president of the University of Southern California. Present was Reese Taylor, a Foundation director who is also president of Union Oil Co., acccused in 1947 of breaking the CIO Oil Workers strike on the West Coast.

Belding said FF is Phase Three of the postwar program of the Advertising Council, established by the American Assn. of Advertising Agencies and their customers, the National Assn. of Advertisers. One and Two were factory-community and press-radio campaigns to plug the "American Way."

Now, he explained, the idea is to "reward" opinion makers who "sell" the American Way. So far the dough has been subscribed by interested persons, but soon that right, also, will be extended to Joe Doakes.

"We expect," beamed Belding, "to make this a real people's movement!"

Love that free enterprise. . . .

Gentlemen, be...

TENACIOUS members of the Venice and Van-Mar (Calif.) Independent Progressive Party Clubs literally stopped a show last week. When they discovered that the Venice Community Sing was planning a minstrel show, the IPPers wrote polite letters to the sing's chairman, Rev. John Gabrielson, explaining the project would be insulting to the Negro community.

The pastor met with the IPP and regretfully told them it appeared too late to call off the performance, though he agreed with many of their arguments.

So the IPPers took their case to the members. They swarmed outside and inside the hall with leaflets, suggesting the songsters drop the stereotyped entertainment in favor of another good community sing. And 150 persons in the audience agreed. They sang together and went home.

Report to readers

The Guardian led the Trenton fight

A NEW trial has been ordered for the Trenton Six. This is a happening of enormous significance, and one with which NATIONAL GUARDIAN's readers are uniquely concerned.

When the GUARDIAN came into existence last October, the Six had already been in the death-house over two months. But their case was unknown to the public outside the area of Trenton, the capital of the state of New Jersey where all New York and Philadelphia metropolitan papers have correspondents and where the big wire services maintain news bureaus.

The case was given its first airing in our second issue, Oct. 25, 1948. We said then that on the basis of the facts we had been able to gather, it was another Scottsboro case, warranting similar public action. For months, the GUARDIAN alone printed the news of the Trenton protest.

GUARDIAN readers yanked the Trenton case to world attention. Reprints of GUARDIAN stories appeared in London, Paris and other European papers. Citizens and groups throughout the U.S. visited local newspapers, demanding facts on the case. Paul Robeson learned of it from the GUARDIAN and organized a mass meeting in Trenton.

The Civil Rights Congress made the case its prime issue and retained attorney O. John Rogge to represent three of the accused six. Mr. Rogge did a brilliant, uncompromising job of presenting the case for retrial. The result is now before us all: the men will receive a new trial, and American justice will have a new opportunity to redeem itself in the eyes of the world.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN and its readers, and the millions of others who mobilized to force an opening for genuine justice in this case, may feel richly gratified.

But let us consider for a moment the behavior of the rest of the American press—and the radio.

In the neighboring N.Y. and Philadelphia press, scarcely a line appeared on the case except in the Daily Worker and, belatedly, the N. Y. Post. Drew Pearson, Arthur Gaeth and Don Hollenbeck talked about it on the radio early this year. But even the mobilization resulting from the CRC campaign and the radio comment failed to make "news" as major newspapers saw things.

JUSTICE might have come a lot easier and quicker for the Trenton Six had a newspaper such as the N. Y. Times—generally regarded as the world's greatest newspaper—taken up the case, even "objectively" by simply printing the facts and contentions or investigating the charges of civic corruption which have been alleged as its background.

But in all the months of the Trenton case, the Times lavished its space on trying to beat Congressman Marcantonio, plugging for the Taft-Hartley Law and for election of Tom Dewey. It could not find an inch to hint to its hundreds of thousands of daily readers that justice might have been lacking in Trenton; that there was even a possibility that innocent men might be put to death without benefit of full justice.

The Times is not alone in this, of course; it is simply the outstanding example.

IS THE American press, then, an instrument of the American people, devoted to justice for them, working for their greater welfare?

Can it even claim, judging by the Trenton case, that it brings the American people full information?

We, the readers of the GUARDIAN and all those we can mobilize to our side, must make an effective challenge to the American press. We can do this best not by crying reform, but by building a press of our own, a medium of information which is solely and wholly devoted to the greater welfare of the American people and not to the hollow slogans of a press "free" to ignore the justice which must be the real cornerstone of any democracy.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

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DEMOCRACY
LIBERTY
TRUTH

Declaration of Independence

by the House Committee on Un-American Activities

(As adopted in secret session)

WHEN in the Course of political events, it becomes necessary for one Committee to dissolve the human bands which have connected it with the people, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Superstition and Ignorance entitle it, a decent contempt for the opinions of mankind requires that it should conceal the causes which impel it to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all Christian white Americans are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Property and persecution of Others. That to secure these rights, Committees are instituted among Governments, deriving their just powers from the dissent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Democracy becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the Committee to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their own Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that Committees long established should not be changed for light or good causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Committees to which they are accustomed.

WE THEREFORE, Representatives of the Disunited States of America, in Committee Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the turpitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of Ourselves, solemnly publish and declare, That this House Committee is, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent of all other Government agencies: that it is Absolved from all Allegiance to the Constitution, and that all political connection between it and the United States Government is and ought to be totally dissolved: and that as a Free and Independent Committee it has full Power to levy War on dissidents, conclude Peace with bigots, contract Alliances with fascists, establish Commerce with cartels, and do all other Acts and Things which Independent Committees may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Vested Interests.

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The New Americana

A dictionary for a tap-happy people in never-never land

WEBSTERS
R.J.

By Cedric Belfrage

(As a service to readers suffering from incurable Websteritis, GUARDIAN offers this ready-reference glossary of modern definitions as a guide to July 4 speeches, editorials, etc.)

AGGRESSOR: A country devoting itself primarily to improvement of its people's living standards.

CONCENTRATION CAMP: A place of confinement, torture and death for democrats, invented in Russia.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: A document whose reference to the people's "right to abolish a government destructive of these ends" has been misinterpreted as applying to years other than 1776.

DEFENSE: Stocking up weapons for obliteration of entire populations.

DEMOCRACY: See LIBERTY. Outside the U.S.: a country whose government bows to the superior judgment of U.S. bankers.

FAIR PLAY: Acceptance of, and devotion to, truth. (See TRUTH).

FASCISM: A system for the destruction of which 20,000,000 died between 1939 and 1945, and now known to be imaginary.

FREE SPEECH: A system existing in full perfection only in the U.S., under which all millionaires are free to publish and broadcast their views and all other citizens are free to discuss theirs with their friends (better not use the phone).

GOD: A supernatural U.S. citizen concerned with preservation of capitalism.

LIBERTY: The economic system of capitalism, or production for the profit of non-producers; the condition existing in Africa (Thos. E. Dewey), and in Greece (Harry S. Truman—see MONARCHY).

MONARCHY: The best system for assuring democracy outside the U.S.; unfortunately getting obsolete.

PEACE: A desirable condition in which all countries, being unable to compete in the field of destructive weapons, accept U.S. control of their governments.

PEACE-LOVING NATION: A country devoting itself primarily to defense. (See DEFENSE).

RED: One who continues to regard the principles of the Declaration of Independence as a sound guide to action; an old-fashioned American.

RELIGION: Recognition of, and obedience to, God according to proper definition. (See GOD).

SLAVERY: The condition existing in countries where production is carried on for the benefit of producers.

SOCIALISM: An utopian idea for the organization of society, any attempt to attain which inevitably leads to slavery. (See TRUE SOCIALISM).

TRUE SOCIALISM: Socialism which is not socialist.

TRUTH: That which is for the benefit of U.S. banks and monopolies.

TYRANNY: Government by persons elected on the basis of their abilities, where free choice between a Demican and a Republocrat is not permitted.

UNALIENABLE RIGHTS: Alienable rights

IS YOUR NEWS DEALER DISPLAYING THE GUARDIAN?

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ASK HIM TO GIVE NATIONAL GUARDIAN PROMINENT DISPLAY ON HIS STAND. IT WILL HELP HIS SALES AND IT WILL HELP US TOO.